

A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
King Charles,

(The second MONARCH
OF
GREAT BRITAIN)

From his Birth to his Burial.

Peter Heylyn

Tacit. Hist. Lib. I.

*Alii diutius imperium tenuerunt, Nemo
tam fortiter reliquit.*

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Royston at the Angel
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S H O R T V I E W
O F T H E
L i f e a n d R e i g n o f K I N G
C H A R L E S

(*The second Monarch of Great*
B R I T A I N)

from his *Birth* to his *Burial*.



U R Chronicles tell us of a Man
in Queen *Elizabeth's* time that
wrote the *Ten Commandments*,
the *Creed*, the *Pater-noster*, the
Queens Name, and the year of our Lord
within the compasse of a Penny ; and
gave the Queen a paire of Spectacles
of such an Artificiall making, that by

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the help thereof she did plainly and distinctly discern every Letter.


The contracting of the Life and Reign of King *Charles* in so narrow a compasse as I have limited to my self, may seem to be a work of no lesse difficulty. And yet I hope to do it in such a plain and perspicuous manner, that *every one who runs may read it* without the help of any such Spectacles as our Chronicles speak of. To Brevity I am enjoyned, and it must be my businesse to avoid all *Obscurity*; though I am conscious to my self, that I shall draw this Picture with too much shadow. But I take the Pencil into my hand, and thus form my *lines*.

1600.

CHARLES, the third Son of *James* the sixth King of the *Scots*, and of *Anne* his Wife, Daughter of *Fredrick* the second, and Sister of *Christiern* the fourth, Kings of *Denmark*, was born at *Dunfermeling* (one of the principall towns of *Fife*) in *Scotland*, on the nineteenth

teenth day of November Anno 1600. derived by a long descent of Royall Ancestors from *Malcolm Conner* King of the *Scots*, and the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, Sister and sole Heir of *Edgar Atheling*, the last surviving Prince of the English *Saxons*. So that his Title had been good to the Crown of *England*, though he had borrowed no part of his Claim from the *Norman Conquerour*.

Which I observe, the better to encounter the extravagant follies of some men in the book called *Antinormanisme*, and some other Pamphlets of that time: in which it is affirmed that this King had no other Right to the Crown, then what he claimed from that Conquest; and therefore that the *English* Nation having got the better of him by the Sword, might lawfully free themselves from that subjection, which by no other Title then the Sword of the *Normans* had been laid upon them.

At his first coming into the world he was so weak and unlike  live, that his

Christening was dispatcht in haste, without attending the performance of those solemnities which are accustomedly used at the Baptisme of such Princely infants. And as the name of *Henry* was given to the Prince, his Elder Brother, with reference to *Henry* Lord *Darnlie*, the Father of King *James* by *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; so was this younger Son called *Charles*, in relation to *Charles* Duke of *Lenox*, the younger Brother of that *Henry*, and by consequence Uncle to King *James*.

1602.

Having received some measure of strength, he was at the Age of two years created Duke of *Albany*, Marquesse of *Ormond*, Earle of *Rosse*, and Baron of *Ardmanock*; of which four Titles the two first and the last are wholly at the Kings disposing, to be bestowed on whom he pleaseth. But the Earldom of *Rosse* falling unto the Crown in the time of King *James* the third, was so settled in the Crown by Act of Parliament,

ment, that it is not lawfull for the King to sell, alienate, or dispose the same unto any other, then to the second Son of *Scotland*.

1603.

On the 26. of *March* next following, *Anno* 1603. King *James* had news by Sir *Robert Cary*, one of the younger Sons of the Lord *Hunsdon* (who had stole a posting journey thither) that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead, contrary to the opinion of many of his *Scottish* Courtiers; who being wearied with the tediousnesse of their expectation, did believe at last, that it should never be acknowledged by the Lords of *England* that the Queen was dead, as long as there was any old woman of that Nation left, to weare good Clothes, and take the name of Queen upon her. For bringing which news the Duke of *Albany* (as if he were more concerned in it then all the rest of the Kings Children, as indeed he was) was afterwards committed to the Governance of Sir *Roberts* Lady, and he

himself from that time forwards of principall esteem and place about him.

This news being seconded by that of the Proclaiming of King *James*, for her true and lawfull Successor in the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, the King prepared himself for *England*. At what time (as I have been told by some Persons of Quality) a certain Laird of the *Highlands*, though of very great Age, came to his Court, to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his Children, the young Duke being then held in his Nurses Armes.

His Addresse unto the King consisted of Prayers for his long life and Prosperity; and those Prayers intermixt with some desires, that in the midst of the Felicities and Glories of the English Court, he would not be unmindfull of his Native Countrey. Which having said, without taking any great notice of the Prince, he applyed himself wholly to the Duke, whose hands he kist with such an Ardency of Affection,

as if he meant they should grow for ever to his lips. And when the King told him, that he had mistook himself in his Addresses to the infant, as not being his eldest Son, and Prince of *Scotland*; he answered, that he knew well enough what he did, and that it was this Child in whom his Name and Memory was to be perpetuated to succeeding Ages, with other Speeches of like nature. Which being then either unregarded, or imputed unto age and dotage, were called to mind after the death of Prince *Henry*, and then believed to have something in them of a Prophetical spirit.

1603.

But to proceed, On the fifth day of *April* in the year 1603. King *James* began his journey for *England*, and in the end of *May*, the Queen accompanied with Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, set forwards also; finding at *Berwick* a Noble Train of Lords and Ladies sent thither from the Court to attend her coming, and wait upon her in her journey.

The

1604.

The next yeare order was given for bringing the young Duke to the Court of *England*. But before such as had the Charge of him could begin their journey, the young Duke was taken with a feaver. Which being signified to the King, he sent thither Doctor *Atkins* one of his Physicians, who who in six weeks restored him to such a degree of health as made him fit to be removed to a Warmer Aire, and a more comfortable Climate.

On the sixteenth of *July* this Remove began, which brought him by short and easie stages in the first week of *October*, to *Windsor* Castle, where the King then was, by whom he was committed to the Governance of the Lady *Cary*, as before is said. And not long after, for his better welcome into *England*, he was on the sixth day of *January* next following (commonly called *Twelfth-day*) invested solemnly with the Title of Duke of *York* by Cincture
of

of a Sword, imposition of a Cap and Coronet of Gold upon his Head, and by delivering unto him a Verge of Gold; himself with ten others of eminent Nobility, having been made Knights of the Bath (with all the accustomed Ceremonies) the day before.

1606.

In the sixth year of his Age, he was taken from the charge of his Women (though not from the Motherly super-inspection of the Lady Cary) and committed to the Pedagogy of Master *Thomas Murray*, a Scot by Nation; sufficiently qualified for that service, but otherwise ill Principled in the Rites and Ceremonies by the *Church* of England differed from the *Kirke* of Scotland.

1610.

Under this Tutor the young Duke advanced exceedingly in the way of good Letters; the weaknesse of his lower parts, which made him unapt for Exercises and feats of Activity, rendering

dring him more retired and studious, and more intent upon his Book then he had been otherwise. Which Prince *Henry* taking notice of, as he, the young Duke, Dr. *Abbot* then newly made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with many of the Nobility, werẽ waiting in the Privie-Chamber for the Kings coming out; the Prince (to put a jest upon him) took the Arch-Bishops Square-cap out of his hand, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him that if he continued a good boy, and followed his Book, he would make him one day Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Which the child took in such disdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and some force taken off from that eagerness.

-This, though at first it was not otherwise beheld then as an Act of Childish passion, yet when his Brother Prince *Henry* dyed, and that he was Heir apparent to the Crown, it was taken up by many zealous Church-men for some

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ill Prefage unto the Hierarchy of Bishops, the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power did seem to be forefignified by it. But in that their fears were groundlesse, and their conjectures no better grounded then their fears; there never being a more gracious Patron to the Church, nor a more resolute Champion in behalf of the Hierarchy then he proved to be. What is presaged (if there were any presaging in it) in reference to the Archbishops Person, may be shewn hereafter.

1611, 1612.

In the eleventh year of his Age, he was made Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and on the sixth day of *November*, *Anno* 1612. he lost his Brother Prince *Henry*, whom he immediately succeeded in the Dukedome of *Cornwal*, with all the Royalties, Rents, Profits, and Commodities of it; according to the entail which was made thereof by King *Edward* the third, when he conferred it upon *Edward* the black Prince, his eldest Son, The

The first solemn Act which he appeared in after this change of his condition, was at the Funerall of Prince *Henry* on the 7. of *Decem.* following, at which he attended as chief Mourner. And on the 14. of *February* then next ensuing, being Sunday, and *S. Valentines* day, he performed the Office of a Brideman (a Paranymp the Grecians call him) to the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* his Siſter, married upon that day to *Frederick* the fifth, Prince Eleſtor *Palatine* : A marriage which drew him afterwards into many cares and great expences, of which more hereafter.

In his Childhood he was noted to be very wilful, ſomewhat inclining to a perverſeneſs of diſpoſition, which might proceed from that retiredneſs, which the imperfection of his Speech, not fitting him for publick diſcourſe, and the weakneſs of his limbs and joynts (as unfit for Action) made him moſt delight in.

But now being grown both in years and ſtate, he began to ſhake off that retiredneſſe, and betake himſelf to all man-

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ner of manlike exercifes ; ſuch as were Vaulting, riding great Horſes, running at the ring, ſhooting in croſſe-bowes, Muſkets, and ſometimes in great Pieces of Ordnance, in which he became ſo perfect, that he was thought to be the beſt Marks-man, and the moſt comely manager of a great Horſe of any one in all three Kingdoms. And as he ſhaked off this retiredneſſe, ſo he corrected in himſelf the Peccancy of that humour which had grown up with it ; there being no man to be found of an evener temper, more pliant to good Counſel, or leſſe wedded then he was to his own opinion.

1616.

On the third of *November*, Anno 1616. He was at *White-Hall* (with all the accuſtomed Solemnities) created Prince of *Wales*, Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*, and put into the actuall poſſeſſion of all the Regalities, Profits, and Commodities belonging to them ; his Houſhold being then formed and conſtituted, and all the officers of State, which belong unto him, appointed to their ſeveral places.

And

And now it was expected that he should break out into more glory then he had done formerly, and take upon him as the Heir of so great an Empire. But considering very wisely that the forward and enterprizing nature of his brother *P. Henry*, the popularity which he affected, & the great resort of young Noble-men continually unto his Court, had been displeasing to his Father; resolved to keep himself at a close ward, and not to seem so great as he was, that, when time served, he might appeare greater then he seemed to be. Old Princes do not love to have their eldest Sons too active, and to tread too close upon their heels; and therefore many times do interpose the power of a favorite to keep them at the greater distance. A policy much used by King *James* in the whole course of his Government, who for that cause in the life-time of Prince *Henry*, took Sir *Robert Carr* into his most especiall favour, whom he first made Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and on the twenty fifth of *March*

Anno

Anno 1611. Created Viscount *Rochesters* and the same year made Knight of the Garter also, conferring on him all the power and trust he was capable of; that by the greatnesse of the one he might keep down the daring nature and confident Spirit of the other.

Prince *Charles* understood this well enough, and carried himself with so much prudence, that he disputed not the Power of his Fathers favourites, suffering all honours, Offices, and other matters at the Court to be carried by them as best pleased the King Which though it was generally ascribed unto Pusillanimity, and the defect of spirit in him, yet was it lookt upon as an Act of the greatest wisdom by more knowing men. For had he any wayes crost the designs and Councils either of *Carr* then Earl of *Somerſet*, or of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Fathers favourites (who at that time did much out-shine him) he had not only incurred the Kings displeasure, but of necessity must have divided the Court, and by consequence the

the Kingdom also into severall factions, each labouring to advance their own, though to the Ruine and Destruction of the publick Peace.

Onely to take off somewhat of the imputation, he made so much use of his power and interesse with the King, as to prefer three of his servants unto Titles of Honour, *Anno 1621. viz.* Sir Robert Cary Chamberlain of his Household, to the Title of Lord Cary of *Lepington*; Sir Thomas Howard, second Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Master of his Horse, to the Honour of Viscount *Andover*, and Lord Howard of *Charlton*; and Sir John Vaughan Controller of his Household, to the Honour of Lord Vaughan of *Melingar* in the Realm of *Ireland*.

1618.

On the eighteenth day of *November Anno 1618*. There appeared a great blazing Star, the forerunner of many woful events in these parts of Christendom. But the first sad effect thereof which we found in *England*, was the death of Queen Anne, which hapned on *Tuesday* the

the second of *March* next following. A losse which the Prince bare with great equanimity, or evennesse of Spirit; neither banishing all shews of grief with a *Stoical* Apathie, nor spending his time in too much womanish lamentation. At the Funerall of this great Queen, he was principall Mourner, and it became him so to be; she having always been to him a tender and indulgent Mother, expressing more affection to him then to all the rest of her Children.

1619.

Not long after the death of the Queen, King *James* fell very sick at *Newmarket*, and having a desire to come to *London*, advanced on his way as far as *Royston*, where he was faine to stay till his sickness was over, which at last became so dangerous, that his death was feared. At what time D. *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester* attending on him, bewailed with great Affliction the sad condition which the Church was like to fall into if God should take away his life, the *Prince* being in the hands of the *Scots*, which made
up

up the greatest part of his Household, and not well principled by those which had the tutelage of him, either as to the Government or *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*. The King acknowledging this sad truth, and condemning his own negligence in it, made a solemn vow, that if God would be pleased to restore him to his health, he would take the Prince into his own immediate care, instruct him in the controversies of Religion, and set him on so right a bottom, that there should be no fear of his disaffection either unto the Hierarchy, or the rites and Ceremonies of the Church; which he did accordingly. And he did it so effectually, that at such time as the Prince made his journey into *Spain*, and that some principal persons in all the Places and Offices belonging to him, were to follow after, Dr. *Maw* and Dr. *Wren* two of his Chaplains being appointed for that service, came to King *James* to know his pleasure and commands. The King advised them not to put themselves upon any unnecessary Dispu-

Disputations, but to be onely on the Defensive part, if they should be challenged. And when it was answered that there could be no reason to engage in such Disputations, where there could be no Moderator; the King replied, that *Charles* should moderate between them and the opposite party. At which when one of them seemed to smile on the other, the King proceeded and told them, that *Charles* should manage a point in Controversie with the best studied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up *George* so far as to hold the conclusion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premises.

1619.

On Friday the twenty fourth of *March*, Anno 1619, The Prince with the Marquesse of *Hamilton*, Marquesse of *Buckingham*, diverse Earles and others performed great Justing at *White-Hall* in honour of the day, being the day of King *James* his happy coming to the Crown of *England*.

And

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1620.

And on the Sunday after, being Mid-lent Sunday, he attended his Father to *S. Pauls Crosse*, conducted in a most solemn manner from *Temple Bar* to that Church by the Lord *Major* and Aldermen, and at the entrance into the Church, received by the Dean and Chapter in their rich Gopes, and other Ecclesiasticall Habits, and by them conducted into the Quire; where having heard the Divine service for that day most solemnly performed with *Organs*, *Cornets*, and *Sagbots*, they went to a prepared place where they heard the Sermon at the Crosse preacht by Dr. *King*, then Lord Bishop of *London*; and from thence unto the Bishops Palace, where they were entertained with a Banquet. Infinite was the concourse of People at both those Solemnities, and all of them returned with great joy and comfort to see him so bravely accomplisht in the one, so devoutly reverent in the other.

On

1622.

On Tuesday the eighteenth of February, Anno 1622. Accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, M. Endimion Porter, and M. Francis Cottington; he took ship at Dover, arrived at Bulloign in France, and from thence rode Post to the Court of Spain.

The occasion this; Frederick Prince Elector Palatine had inconsiderately taken on himself the Crown of Bohemia, An. 1619. and for so doing, was by the Emperor deprived of his Ancient Patrimony; the Electorall dignity together with the upper Palatinate being conferred on the Duke of Bavaria, and the lower on the K. of Spain, who possest himself of all of it except the towns of Heidelberg, Frankendale, and Mannheim, well manned and Garrisoned by the English. For the preserving of which places, and the recovery of the whole, when all means else had proved ineffectuall, it was held most expedient to negotiate a Marriage betwixt
 B Prince

Prince *Charles* and the Daughter of *Spain*. Which being first managed by the Leiger Embassadors in both Courts, was afterwards prosecuted with more particular instructions by *John* Lord *Digby* (well versed and studied in that Court) whom the King sent as his Embassador extraordinary to conclude the match. But *Digby* being fed with delays from one time to another, it was resolved by King *James*, without making any of his Council acquainted with it, that the Prince himself should go in Person, that he might either speed the Business, or break off the Treaty.

According to this Resolution he began his journey, no otherwise accompanied or attended then with those three persons above-mentioned, all of them passing in disguise, to avoid discovery. Being come to *Paris*, they adventured to see the Court, where at a *Mask*, he had a view of that most excellent Princess whom he after married. But no sooner had he left the City,

ty, then the *French* King had Advertisment of his being there, who there-upon dispatcht away severall Posts to stay him in his journey, and bring him back; but the Prince had past beyond *Bayonne*, the last Town in *France*, without being overtaken by them, and posting speedily to *Madrid*, entred the Lord Embassadors Lodging, without being known to any but his Confidants onely.

News of his safe Arrivall there being brought to the King, there was a present order taken for the sending of his Servants of all sorts, to attend upon him in that Court, that so he might appear amongst them in the greater Lustre. But this lessened not the Cares and Feares of the *English* Subjects, who could not be more glad to hear of his safety, then they were afraid of the danger which he had incurred. For having put himself into the power of the King of *Spain*, it was at the Courtessie of that King whether he should ever return or no: it being a Maxime

amongst Princes, That if any one without leave sets foot on the Ground of another, he makes himself his Prisoner.

Philip the first of *Spain* and Duke of *Burgundy*, being cast by Tempest on the Coast of *England*, was here detained by King *Henry* the seventh, till he had delivered up the Earle of *Suffolk*, who had fled for Refuge to his Court: and *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, being forced by her Rebellicious Subjects to fly into this Realm, was presently seized on as a Prisoner, and so continued till her lamentable and calamitous death. So in like manner *Richard* the first of *England*, passing in disguise through some part of the dominions of the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, was by him took Prisoner, and put unto an heavy Ransome; and not long since *Charles Lodowick* the now Prince Elector *Palatine* posting through *France*, in hope to get the Command of Duke *Bernards* Army, was stayed in the middle of his journey by the Kings command, and kept so

so long under Restraint, that he lost the opportunity of effecting his purpose.

This, though it was the generall Fear and apprehension of the *English* Subjects, yet no body durst acquaint the King with it, but *Archee* the fool, who going boldly to the King, as he found him once in a good humour, told him that he was come to change Caps with him. Why, said the King? Marry, saies *Archee*, because thou hast sent the Prince into *Spain*, from whence he is never like to returne. But said the King, what wilt thou say when thou seest him come back again? Marry, saies *Archee*, I will then take off the fools Cap which I put upon thy head, for sending him thither, and put it on the King of *Spains*, for letting him return. At which words, it is reported, that the King became exceeding pensive, never before so much apprehending the Danger of that Adventure, as then and afterwards he did.

1623.

But the generous *Spaniard* intended to make no such Market of him, but gave him all the Royall entertainment which a Princely Suitor might expect. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit Compliances by which he might both gain on them, and preserve himself. For by his Courtly Garb he won so much on the Affections of the *Infanta*, and by his grave and circumspect behaviour got so much ground upon the King and his Council, that the match went forward in good earnest. The Articles of the Marriage with all the Circumstances thereof were agreed upon, and solemnly sworn to by both Kings. Nor was the Pope wanting in the grant of a dispensation (without which nothing could be done) writing a Letter to the Prince, who returned to him a Civil answer, which afterwards was reckoned amongst his Crimes, by such as rather would not then did not know the necessity which lay

lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plausible Correspondence with the Catholick party.

But as for his Religion, the change whereof was moved by the Pope, and much hoped for by the Court of *Spain* at his first coming thither, he shewed so many strong evidences of his constancy in it, that those hopes soon vanished. And that it might appear, that he professed no other Religion, then what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not much abhorrent from the formes then used in the Church of *Rome*, the *English* Liturgie was by the care of the Lord Keeper *Williams* translated into the *Spanish* Tongue; and so many Copies of the Book then printed sent into *Spain*, as gave great satisfaction in that point to the Court and Clergy.

And this I must needs say was very seasonably done, the *Spaniards* being till then perswaded by their *Priests* and *Jesuits*, that when the *English* had cast off the *Pope*, they had cast off also all Religion,

ligion, and became meer *Atheists*; the name of God being never used amongst them, but with a purpose to expose it unto scorn and prophanation. In-
 somuch that the “ Constable of *Castile*,
 “ being sent to swear the Peace conclu-
 “ ded with *Spain*, when he understood
 “ the businesse was to be performed in
 “ the *Chappel*, where some *Anthems* were
 “ to be sung, desired that whatsoever
 “ was sung, Gods name might not be used
 “ in it, and that being forborn, he was
 “ content they should sing what they li-
 sted. King James himself so relates
 the story in Arch-Bishop *Spotswood*,
 fol. 530.

But the Prince had another game to
 play, namely, the Restitution of the *Pa-
 latinate*; which the *Spaniard* would not
 suffer to be brought under the Treaty,
 reserving it (as they pretended to be
 bestowed by the *Infanta* after the mar-
 riage, the better to ingratiate her self
 with the *English* Nation. Which being
 a point of too great moment to de-
 pend upon no other assurance then a
 Court-

Court-Complement, he concluded with himself that since he could not prevaile in the one, he would not proceed unto the Consummation of the other. And hereupon he was much edged on by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who having conceived some deep displeasure against the *Conde de Olivarez*, the special Favourite of that King, desired rather that all Treaties should be broken off, then that any Alliance should be made in which that *Conde* had appeared so instrumentall.

But it did concern the Prince so to provide for his own safety, that no intimation might be made of the intended Rupture, till he had unwinded himself out of that *Labyrinth* into which he was cast. For which cause having desired of his Father that some ships might be sent to bring him home, he shewed himself a more passionate lover then ever formerly, and made a *Proxie* to the Catholick King and Don *Charles* his Brother, in his name to espouse the Lady *Infanta*; which *Proxie* he left

with *Digby*, not long before made Earl of *Bristol*, by him to be delivered within some few daies after the coming of the expected dispensation.

But no sooner had he took his leave, and was out of danger, but he dispatcht a Post unto him, commanding him not to deliver up the *Proxie* untill further order. And having so done, he hois'd Sails, and came for *England*, arriving at *Portsmouth* on Sunday the fifth of *October*, Anno 1623. From whence by Post-Horses he past to *London*, the next morning, and so by Coach to the King at *Royston*, to the great content of all the Kingdome, declared by Bells, Bon-fires, and all other the accustomed expressions of a publick joy.

The King being made acquainted with all particulars, and that no Assurance could be had of the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, by the advice of his Privy Councel, dispatcht a command to the Earl of *Bristol*, not to deliver up the *Proxie* unlesse the businesse of the *Palatinate* were concluded also. The expectation

pectation whereof not being answered by Successe, a Parliament is summon'd, to begin on the sixteenth day of *February* then next following, to the end that all things might be governed in this great Affair by the publick Counsel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houses (more to the disadvantage of the *Spaniard* then there was just ground for) how unhandsomely they had dealt with the Prince, when he was in *Spain*; how they had fed him with delaies; what indignities they had put upon him, and finally had sent him back not onely without the *Palatinate*, but without a Wife; leaving it to their prudent Consideration what course to follow.

It was thereupon voted by both Houses, that his Majesty should be desired to break off all Treaties with the King of *Spain*, and to engage himself in a war against him for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, not otherwise to be obtained. And that they might come the better

better to the end they aimed at, they addresse themselves unto the Prince, whom they assured, that they would stand to him in that War to the very last expence of their lives and fortunes; and he accordingly being further set on by the Duke, became their instrument to perswade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and desires of his Subjects, which the King, prest by their continuall importunities, did at the last assent to.

But in the conduct of this Businesse, the Prince consulted more the Dukes passion, and the pleasing of the Commons in Parliament, then either his own or the Regall interest. For there is nothing more unsafe for a King of *England*, then to cast himself upon the necessity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the purse of the Subject. By means whereof, he makes himself obnoxious to the Humour of any prevailing Member in the House of Commons, and becomes lesse in Reputation both at home and abroad. The Commons,
since

since the time of King *James*, have seldom parted with a peny, but they have paid themselves well for it out of the Prerogative.

And this appeared by their proceedings in this very Parliament: For though they had ingaged the King in a War with *Spain*, and granted him three *Subsidies*, and three *Fifteens* toward the beginning of that War; yet would they not suffer that grant to passe into an Act of Parliament, till the King had yielded to another against *Concealments*. Infomuch as it was affirmed by Justice *Doddrige*, at the next Publick Assizes held in *Oxford*, that the King by passing of that Act, had bought those *Subsidies* and *Fifteens* at ten years purchase. Nor dealt they otherwise with this Prince then they did with his Father, those very Commons who had ingaged him in the Warre, and bound themselves to make good that ingagement with their lives and fortunes, most shamefully deserting him in the first Parliament of his Reign,

34 *The Life and Reign*

Reign, and after working more and more upon his necessities, till they had robbed him of the richest Jewels in the Regal Diadem.

1624.

But to proceed, the Treaty with *Spain* being like to come to a Rupture, it was judged necessary to counterbalance the Power of that King by negotiating a Match with the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, the youngest Daughter of *France*; first set on foot by the Mediation of the Earl of *Holland*, who found that Court inclinable thereunto, and afterwards concluded at the coming over of the Earl of *Carlisle*, joyned in Commission to that purpose. It was reported, that when she was told that the Prince of *Wales* had been at the Court, and was gone for *Spain*; she Answered, that if he went to *Spain* for a Wife, he might have had one nearer hand, and saved himself a great part of the trouble. And I have read, that receiving at one time two Letters from
England,

England, the one from King *James*, and the other from the Prince, she put that from King *James* into her Cabinet, and that from Prince *Charles* into her Bosom. Of which King *James* being told, he was exceedingly pleased with it, saying, that he took it for a very good Omen, that she should preserve his Name in her Memory, and lodge *Charles* in her Heart.

1625.

During these preparations for War and Marriage, King *James* departed this life at *Theobalds* on Sunday the twenty seventh of *March*, Anno 1625. Immediately upon whose death Prince *Charles*, was proclaimed at the Court-Gates to be King of great *Britain, France*, and *Ireland, &c.* The like done presently after at *London*, and by degrees in all the other Cities and Towns of the Kingdome, with infinite rejoycings and Acclamations of the People.

The Funeralls of the deceased King were celebrated on the seventh of *May*,
his

his body being brought from *Somerset-House* with great Magnificence to *Saint Peters Church* in *Westminster* (where he was interred) the King himself being principall Mourner. Which though it were contrary to the Custome of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to expresse his Piety in attending the dead body of his Father to the Funerall Pile, then to stand upon any such old Niceties and points of State.

The Funerall being past, he thought it was time for him to quicken the coming over of his dearest Consort, to whom he had been married on the Sunday before at the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*; the Duke of *Chevereux* a Prince of the House of *Guise* (from which House King *Charles* derived himself by the Lady *Mary* of *Lorain* Wife to *James* the fifth) espousing the Princess in his Name.

On *Trinity Sunday*, late at night, she was brought by a Royall Fleet of Ships from *Bulloign* to *Dover*, which being signified to the King who was then

then at *Canterbury*, he went to her be-
times the next morning, and recei-
ved her with great expressions of Af-
fection, professing that he would be
no longer Master of himself, then
whilest he was a Servant to her. The
same day he brought her to *Canterbu-
ry*, where he gave himself up to those
Embraces, to which from that time he
confined himself with such a Conjugal
Chastity, that on the day before his
death he commanded his Daughter the
Princesse *Elisabeth* to tell her Mother,
that his thoughts had never strayed from
her, and that his love should be the same
to the last.

On the Thursday after being the six-
teenth of *June*, they came from *Graves-*
end to *White-Hall* in their Royal Barges,
attended with an infinite number of
Lords, Ladies, and other people who
could get Boats to wait upon them; the
Ordnance from the Ships which were
then preparing for the Wars, those from
the Merchants Ships, and the *Tower* of
London, thundering her Welcome as she
past.

But

But in the heat of these Solemnities and entertainments, the King forgot not the main Concernments of himself and the Kingdome, and to that end began his first Parliament on Saturday the eighteenth of *June*, which fell out not unseasonably, that the *French* Lords might see with what Royall Magnificence he was attended by the Peers, Prelates, and other Officers of State, (besides his own Domestick Servants) to the Parliament-House.

At their first meeting, he put them in mind of the War in which they had engaged his Father, and of the promise they had made to stand to him in it with their lives and fortunes; that both his Land and Sea-Forces were now in readinesse to set forwards, and that there wanted nothing but a present supply of money to quicken and expedite the Affair. In Answer whereunto, the Commons past a Bill of two Subsidies onely, so short of the excessive Charge which the Maintenance of so great a Fleet and Army required
at

at their hands, that being distributed amongst the Officers, Souldiers, and Mariners, it would scarce have served for *Advance-money* to send them going. Which notwithstanding, the King very graciously accepted of it, taking it as an *Earnest* of their good Affections, in reference to the greater Summes which were to follow.

But the Plague growing hot in *London*, the Parliament on the eleventh day of *July* was adjourned to *Oxford*, there to be held on the first of *August*, at what time the King put them in mind again of the necessity of setting forward his Fleet, and that the eyes of his Confederates were fixt upon it. But the Commons had *other fish to fry*, and began to quarrel at the greatnesse of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom in the last Parliament of King *James* they had idolized above all men living. But he had served their turne already, and now they meant to serve their own.

This was the first Assault which the
Com-

Commons made upon this King, though not directly on his Person, wounding him thorough the sides of his principal Minister; they were so well verst in the Arts of a Parliament-War, as to take in the Out-works first, that so the *Fort* it self might lie the more open to continuall Batteries. Concerning which, and the sad consequents thereof, take here the words of a Letter written to the King from an unknown Person.

“ These men, saith he, either cannot
“ or will not remember, that never a-
“ ny Noble man in favour with his
“ Sovereign, was questioned in Parlia-
“ ment, except by the King himself in
“ case of Treason, or unlesse it were in
“ the Nonage and tumultuous time of
“ *Richard* the 2. *Henry* the 6. or *Edward*
“ the 6. which hapned to the destructi-
“ on both of the King and Kingdome.
“ And that, not to exceed our own and
“ Fathers Memories, in King *Henry* the
“ eight’s time, *Wolseyes* exorbitant power
“ and pride, and *Cromwells* contempt of
the

“ the Nobility and the Lawes, were
 “ not yet permitted to be discussed in
 “ Parliament, though they were most
 “ odious and grievous to all the King-
 “ dome. And that *Leicefters* undeser-
 “ ved favour and faults; *Hattons* insuf-
 “ ficiency, and *Rawleighs* insolence far
 “ exceeded what yet hath been (though
 “ most falſly) objected againſt the
 “ Duke; yet no Lawyer durſt abet,
 “ nor any man elſe begin any inve-
 “ ctives againſt them in Parliament.
 “ And then he addes (ſome other paſ-
 “ ſages intervening) that it behoves
 “ his Maſteſty to uphold the Duke a-
 “ gainſt them, who if he be but de-
 “ courted, it will be the corner-ſtone on
 “ which the demolishing of his Monar-
 “ chy will be builded. For if they pre-
 “ vaile with this, they have hatched a
 “ thouſand other Demands to pull the
 “ feathers of the Royalty, they will ap-
 “ point him Counſellors, Servants, Alli-
 “ ances, Limits of his Expences. Ac-
 “ compts of his Revenue, chiefly if they
 “ can (as they mainly deſire) they will
 “ now

“now dazle him in the beginning of his Reign.

How true a Prophet this man proved, the event hath shewn, and the King saw it well enough, and therefore since he could not divert them from that pursuit, he dissolved the Parliament, by whose neglect (I will not call it a perversenesse) the Fleet went out late, and returned unprosperously. In which conjuncture if he had clapt up a Peace with *Spain*, (which the *Spaniards* had as much reason to accept as he to offer) he might have prevented the following Rupture betwixt him and *France*, and freed himself from the necessity of calling Parliaments, till he had no necessity for a Parliament to work upon, and then he might have found them as pliant to him as he could reasonably require.

But he resolves to try his fortune in another as soon as he had performed the solemnities of his Coronation, which was celebrated on the second of *February*, (commonly called *Candle-*
mas

mas Day) then next ensuing. In the
externall Pomp whereof, he omitted
his triumphant-riding thorow the City
from the *Tower* to *White-Hall*, the Charge
whereof would have stood him in six-
ty thousand pounds, as some compute
it; and he had then more necessary oc-
casions to expend his Money, then Mo-
ney to answer those occasions. In the
sacred part of it, there was nothing al-
tered, but the adding of a clause to one
of the Prayers which had been preter-
mitted since the time of King *Henry* the
sixth, and is this that followeth, viz. *Let*
him obtain favour for the People, like
Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the
Waters, Zacharias in the Temple; give
him Peters key of Discipline, Pauls Do-
ctrine. Which clause had been o-
mitted in time of Popery, as intima-
ting more Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction to
be given to our Kings then the Popes
allowed of; and for the same reason
was now quarrel'd by the *Puritan* Fa-
ction. As for the Coronation-oath, it
was the same which had been taken by
his

his Predecessors, as appears by the Records of *Exchequer*; Not made more advantageous to the King, and lesse beneficiall to the People by the late Archbishop, though both the long Parliament in the year 1642. and the lewd Pamphlets of that time did object the contrary.

The *Coronation* being passed over, he began his second Parliament on the sixth of the same moneth, in which he sped no better then he did in his first. The Commons voted some Subsidies to be granted to him, but they never past them into Act, that bait being onely laid before him to tempt him to give over the Duke to their pride and fury, against whom they had framed a large impeachment ushered in by Sir *Dudly Diggs*, prosecuted with six bitter invectives, made by the best Speakers and most learned Lawyers of that House, and finally concluded by Sir *John Eliot*, who brought up the Rear.

But

1626.

But the King easily perceived that his Royal Father and himself were as much concerned in it as the Duke, their favours being made his crimes and their authority in bestowing Offices and Honours on whom they pleased, not obscurely questioned.

But the storm went higher then the Duke, some part of it falling downright on the King himself; it being openly affirmed in the House of Commons by one Mr. Coke (a true chip of the old block) *that it was as good to die by a forraign Enemy as to be destroyed at home.* Of this reproch, tending so much to the dishonour of his Government, he complained in a Speech before both Houses, but without any remedy. And being further incensed by the noise of a Declaration which they had then upon the Anvil, he dissolved the Parliament on the eighteenth day of June then following.

No sooner was he freed from this,
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but the necessity of his Affairs involved him in another Embroylment. The *French* Priests and Domesticks of that Nation which came into *England* with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and had put so many affronts upon him, that he was forced to send them home; in which he did no more then what the *French* King had done before him, in sending back all the *Spanish* Courtiers which his Queen brought with her. But the *French* King not looking on his own example, and knowing on what ill termes the King stood both at home and abroad, first seized on all the Merchants ships which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then brake out into open war. So that the King was fain to make use of those Forces against the *French*, which were designed to have been used against the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the desires of the *Rochelers*, who humbly sued for his protection and Defence. But the Fleet not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater opposition at the

the Sea then they feared from the Land; being encountred with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return without doing any thing, but onely shewing the Kings good-will and readinesse toward their assistance.

1627.

But the next yeare this design was followed with greater vigour by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hoped thereby to make himself of some consideration in the eyes of the people. The gaining of the Isle of *Re*, which lay before the Town of *Rochel*, and imbar'd their Trade, was the matter aimed at; and he had strength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier then a Souldier; suffering himself to be complemented out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almost at his mercy; and standing upon points of Honour in facing those Forces which were

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sent from the *French* King to raise the siege, when he might have made a safe retreat unto his ships without losse or danger.

In the mean time his Majesty neither neglected his Affairs at home nor his Friends abroad: At home he found the *Puritan* faction to be much increased by the remissness of the government of Arch-bishop *Abbot*, whom therefore he suspended from all his Metropolitickall Jurisdiction, and confined him to his House at *Ford* in *Kent*, committing the exercise thereof to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, by Letters Patents, bearing date the 9. day of *October*, Anno 1627. Abroad he found the Princes of *Germany* wormed out of their Estates, one after another, by the Emperours Forces, the King of *Denmark* (whom they had made the Head of their League) being driven out of the Countrey by Count *Tilly*, and hardly able to defend his own Dominions. No Prince so fit for the
pro-

prosecution of that cause, as *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, whom therefore he elects into the Noble Order of the *Garter*, and solemnly invests him with it in the midst of his Army, then lying at the Siege of *Darsaw*, a Town of *Pomerella*, belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, on Sunday the twenty third of *October*, of the same year also. At which time he laid the grounds of that Confederacy, which being seconded by the *French*, the States of the *United Provinces*, and the distressed Princes of the Empire, brought that King into *Germany*; where he gave the first great check to the *Emperours* fortunes, and had restored the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his ancient Patrimony, if he had not fallen unfortunately at the Battell of *Lutzen*.

1628.

Being thus ingaged and embroiled, he gave a beginning to his third Parliament on the seventeenth of *March*,

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and freely declares to them the necessities under which he lay : in Answer whereunto the Commons voted five *Subsidies* , but meant he should pay dearly for them before he had them. Such grievances as they thought fit to insist upon, were cast into the mold of a petition, by them called a *Petition of Right* ; which if the King granted, he must lose his prerogative ; if he denied it, he must lose all hopes of their supply in his great extremities. The consideration of which last induced him to yield to their desires, and confirm that petition by Act of Parliament; the *Prerogative* never so much descending from Perch to popular Lure, as by that concession. But though this Act of grace might have given satisfaction even to supererogation (as one well observeth) yet the Commons were not so contented, but were preparing a Remonstrance to take away his Right of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, as disclaimed by him in that Act; which coming to the Kings knowledge, on the twenty sixth

sixth of *June* he adjourns the Parli-
ment till the twentieth day of *October*
then next ensuing.

In the mean time the Duke prepares
for the relief of *Rochel*, both by Sea and
Land, and being ready to set sail, was
suddenly cut off at *Ports-mouth* by the
hand of one *John Felton*, a disconten-
ted Officer of the last years Army, al-
ledging no other reason for that bloody
act, but that the Duke had been declar-
ed an Enemy to the Common-wealth,
in a *Remonstrance* tendred to the King in
the former Session.

But such was the constancy of the
Kings temper, and the known evenness
of his spirit, that this sad Accident
made little or no stop in the procee-
dings of the Fleet, which at the last
set forwards under the command of the
Earl of *Lindsey*; who found the Haven
of *Rochel* so strongly barred, that it
was utterly impossible for his Ships to
force their way (though it was gallant-

ly attempted) and give relief to the besieged; who thereupon set open their Gates, and received their King into their Town without more delay.

To smoothe his way to the next Session of Parliament, adjourned again till the twentieth of *January*, Arch-bishop *Abbot* is admitted to kisse his hand, by whom he is commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Councel table; *Dr. Barnaby Potter* (a through-pac'd Calvinian) is made Bishop of *Carlisle*, and Mr. *Moutagues* book called *Spello Casarem* (for which he had been questioned and molested in the beginning of the Kings first Parliament) must be suppress'd and called in by Proclamation.

But this little edified with the faction in the house of Commons, who not onely took upon them the reforming of the Church and State, but called the *Customers* in question for levying *Tonnage* and *Powndage*, not then granted (nor ever likely to be granted as it had
been

been formerly) by Act of Parliament, and distraining such Merchants goods as refused to pay it. And in this point they went so high, that fearing they should be dissolved before they had vented their own passions in that particular, upon the second day of *March* they lockt the Doors of the Parliament-house, kept the key thereof in one of their pockets, and held the Speaker by strong hand in his Chair, till they had thundred out their Anathema's not onely against such as should dare to levie it, but those also who should willingly pay it. The news of which riotous proceeding being brought immediately to the King, he sent his Band of Pensioners, accompanied by his ordinary Guard, to force open the doors, and going himself to the House of Peers, he dissolved the Parliament, not having continued in that Session above forty dayes.

At the end of the former Session he had admitted Sir *John Savill* of *Yorkshire*, a busie man in the House

of *Commons*, (but otherwise a politique and prudent person) to be one of his Privy Council, created him Lord *Savill* of *Pontfract*, and made him Comptroller of his Household in the place of Sir *John Sackling* deceased. And a little before the beginning of the following Session, he took into his Council Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouse* in the same County, whom he created Viscount *Wentworth*, and made Lord President of the North, and within two years after Lord Deputy of *Ireland* also. A man he was of prodigious Parts, which he made use of at the first in favour of the Popular Faction: But being gained unto the King by Sir *Ri. Weston* then Chancellor of the Exchequer, (afterwards Lord Treasurer and Earl of *Portland*) he became the most devout friend of the Church, the greatest Zealot for advancing *Monarchicall* Interesse, and the ablest Minister of State which our Histories have afforded to us.

On the judgement of these two his Majesty did much rely in Civil matters, as he did on the advice of Doctor Neile then Bishop of *Durham*, and Doctor *Land* then Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, in matters which concerned the Church. These last he had called unto his Council in the beginning of *April*, 1627. and finding them to be of as great abilities to advise, as sincere affections to his person ; he advanced the first to the See of *Winchester*, and afterwards to the Archbishoprick of *York*, Anno 1631. the second to the See of *London*, and from thence to *Canterbury*, Anno 1633.

1629.

But whilest it was such hot weather at home, it grew cold abroad, the breach betwixt him and *France* being closed up at the same time, by the prudent and seasonable intervention of the State of *Venice*. And not long after he concluded a Peace also with the King
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of *Spain*, all things being left on both sides in the same condition in which they were before the war, but that the *Spaniard* did ingage that he would make use of all his Interest with the Emperour, for restoring the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his lost Estate.

And now the King having thrown away his Crutches (which had as often deceived him as he trusted to them) he began to stand on his own legs, and in short time became more considerable in the eyes of the world than any of his Predecessors. The *Spaniard* sent hither yearly in *English* Bottoms no lesse then six hundred thousand Crowns in Bullion, for the use of his Army in the *Netherlands*, redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the coinage, and no lesse to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the money being returned into *Flanders* in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tinne, and other the manufactures and Native Commodities of this Kingdome. The *Dutch* and *East-*
lings.

lings lookt upon *London* as the safest Bank, not onely to lodge, but increase their Treasure; so that in short time the greatest part of the Trade of Christendome was driven up the *Thames*.

1630.

To make him yet more estimable in the sight of his People, God blest him with a Son, the presumptive Heir of his Dominions, on the twenty ninth of *May*, Anno 1630. and seconded that blessing with the birth of a Daughter on the fourth of *November*, in the next year after, as afterwards with a plentiful issue of both Sexes.

1633.

Nor did he meet with any check in his Prosperity till the year 1633. at what time the Coles of *Faction* and *Sedition*, which seemed for some years to have been raked up in the ashes of contentment, kindled the next combustible
mat-

matter and brake forth again to the inflaming of both Kingdoms. *Scotland* burneth first, and takes fire on this occasion.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of all Cathedrall Churches and Religious Houses which had been setled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shar'd amongst the Lords and great men of that Kingdome, (by the connivence of the Earl of *Murray*, and some other of the Regents) to make them sure unto the side. And they being thus possessed of the said Lands, with the Regalities and Tithes belonging to those Ecclesiasticall Corporations, Lorded it with pride and insolence enough in their severall Territories, holding the Clergy to small stipends, and the poor Paissant under a miserable vassalage, and subjection to them.

King *Charles* ingaged in War at his first coming to the Crown, and having

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ving little aid from thence for the maintenance of it, by the advice of his Council of that Kingdome, was put upon a course of resuming those Lands, Tithes and Regalities into his own hands, to which the present Oocupants could pretend no other Title then the unjust usurpation of their Ancestors. This he endeavoured, first by an Act of *Revocation*, but that course not being like to speed, he followed it in the way of a legal proecesse, which drew on the Commission for *surrendring of Superiorities and Tithes*, to be retaken from the King on such conditions, as might bring some profit to the Crown, some Augmentation to the Clergy, and far more ease and benefit to the common people. But these proud *Scots* chuse rather to expose their Countrey to the danger of a publick Ruine, then to part with any of that power (it might be called a Tyranny rather) which they had exercised on their *Vassals*, as they commonly called them; and thereupon conspired together to oppose the King

King in any thing that should be offered in the following Parliament, which had relation to the Church or to Church-affaires.

But because Religion and the care thereof, is commonly the best bait to catch the vulgar, they must find out some other means to divert the King from the prosecuting of that *Commission*, then the consideration of their own personall and private interesse; and they found means to do it on another occasion, which was briefly this.

King *James* from his first coming to this Crown, had a design to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an uniformity with the Church of *England*, both in government and forms of worship. And he proceeded so far as to settle *Episcopacy* amongst them, naming thirteen new Bishops for so many Episcopal Sees as had been anciently in that Church; three of which received Consecration from the Bishops of *England*, and conferred it on the rest of their Brethren at their

their coming home. Which Bishops he armed also with the power of an *High Commission*, the better to keep down the insolent and domineering Spirit of the *Presbyterians*. In order to the other, he procured an Act to be passed in the Assembly at *Aberdeen*, Anno 1666. for composing a *Liturgy*, and extracting a new Book of Canons out of the scattered Acts of their old *Assemblies*. At the Assembly held at *Perth*, Anno 1618. he obtained an Order for receiving the *Communion* kneeling for administering Baptisme and the Lords Supper in private Houses, in cases of extreme necessity, for Episcopall Confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniversaries of our Saviours Birth, his Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost. All which he got to be confirmed in the following Parliament.

So far that wise King had advanced the work of Uniformity, before his engaging in the Cause of the *Palatinate*.

nate. His Breach with *Spain*, and the War which did issue upon it took off his thoughts from prosecuting that design, which his son, being more intangled in Wars abroad and Distempers at home, had no time to finish till he had settled his Affaires, and attained to some measure both of Power and Glory. But being it was a businessse which was to be acted leisurely and by degrees, not all at once, he first resolved upon passing of an Act of *Ratification* of all that had been done by his Father, and then to go in hand with the introducing of a publick *Liturgie*. In the effecting whereof, at such time as he went into *Scotland* to receive that unfortunate Crown, he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament of that Kingdome also, about the passing of that Act of *Ratification*, then he had reason to expect: But carried it at last by a far major part of that Assembly.

This gave him the first taste of their disaffection to his Person and Government;

ment; but he went forward notwithstanding in pursuit of those purposes, which he brought thither with him. For not long after his return into *England*, he gave order to the Dean of his Chappell Royal in *Edenburgh*, that Prayers be read therein according to the English Liturgie; that a Communion be had every moneth, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees; that he who officiated, if he be a Bishop, perform it in his *Rochet* and other *Episcopall Robes*; and that he do it in his *Surplice*, if a common *Presbyter*; and finally, that not onely the *Lords of the Council*, but the *Lords of the Session*, and as many of the principall *Magistrates* of that city also as could conveniently, faile not of their attending the *Divine Service* there on *Sundayes* and *Holydayes*: For by this means he gave himself no improbable hopes, that the *English Liturgy* passing a probationership in the *Chappel Royal*, might find a plausible entertainment in the Churches of *Edenburgh*,
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and be received by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdome.

But the *Presbyterian Scots* not ignorant of the Kings intentions, insinuated into the minds of the common People, that this was a design onely to subject that pure Kirk to the superstitious Rites and Ceremonies of the *Church of England*, and therefore that it did behove them to stand together as one man to oppose their entrance.

The Lords and Gentry of that Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of *Surrendries* before mentioned, laid hold on this occasion also: And they being seconded by some male-contented spirits of that Nation, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his favours to them as his Father had been before, endeavoured to possesse them with *Fears* and *Jealousies*, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like done also by some Lords of Secret Council, who before had governed as
they

they lifted, and thought their power diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in chief,

So that the people generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their *Christian* and *Civil* Liberty were in no small danger, became capable of any impression which the *Presbyterian* Faction could imprint upon them. Which visibly appeared by a virulent and seditious Libel, published in the year 1634. wherein the King was not onely charged with altering the Government of that kingdome, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the religion of the Church of *Rome*. The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*, for which he was legally convicted and condemned of treason, but pardoned by the Kings great goodnesse, and by that pardon kept alive for the mischiefs following.

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The fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no marvel if it had laid hold on *England* also, the Puritans of both Nations working themselves about this time into a Body, and from henceforth communicating their Counsels and designs unto one another,

The King not long after his return thought fit to renew his Fathers Declaration about *lawfull sports* on the *Lords day*: The principall motives whereunto were, the increase of Popery in some parts of the kingdome, occasioned by interdicting all honest Recreations on that day, and the rest of the Holydayes; the tendency of the Sabbatarian Doctrine to down-right *Judaisme*; some orders made by some publick Ministers of Justice, for suppressing the Annuall Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called *Wakes*; and finally, the bringing of Dancing, Running, shooting and other harmlesse Recreations, within the compasse of the Statute made in the first Parliament of his

his Reign against all unlawfull exercises and pastimes; in which no such thing was ever intended. And though the Kings intention in it was onely to ease the people from that yoke of superstition which many of their Preachers had laid upon them; yet by the practise of those Preachers, it made more noise among the People, and wakened more to appear in defence of that which they call Religion, then all the Geese in the Capitol.

Nor did his Majesty speed much better in another of his pious intentions, concerning the Conformity of Parochiall Churches to their Mother Cathedrals. The *Dean and Chapter* of *S. Pauls* (as *Ordinaries* of the place) had appointed the Communion-Table to be placed Altar-wise at the end of the Chancel, where it had stood (and by her injunctions ought to stand) in *Queen Elizabeths* time. Against this some of the parishioners appealed to the *Dean of the Arches*, and the *Dean and Chapter* to



to the King The cause being heard before his Majesty and the Lords of the Council on the third of *November Anno 1623.* it pleased his Majesty, having first shewed his dislike of all Innovations, to declare that he well approved and confirmed the Act " of the
 " *said Ordinary* , and also gave commandment, that if those few parishioners before mentioned, do proceed
 " in their said Appeal, then the *Dean of*
 " *the Arches* (who was then attending
 " at the hearing of the cause) shall confirm the said Order of the aforesaid
 " *Dean and Chapter.* On this encouragement the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his Metropolitall Visitation, beginning in the year next following, and the Suffragan Bishops in their severall and respective Diocesses, did appoint the like, for the avoiding of those frequent inconveniences and prophanations which that sacred table had formerly been exposed unto.

This made the *Puritan* Faction open wider then before they did, as foolishly

ly afraid of the breaking in of *Superstition*, by this last Declaration, as of *Prophanenēsse* by the other. And that they might keep pace with the *Scots* in all particulars, they dispersed many scandalous and seditious Libels against the Government of the Church, and all that acted by and under their Authority, not sparing the King himself if he came in their way; most certain tokens and prognosticks of those great Com-bustions which soon after followed in both Kingdomes.

1634.

Nor were there any lesse Apprehensions infused into them by some zealous Patriots, who most ambitiously affected the Title of Φιλάνθρωποι ἢ φιλοπόλεις, in the Orators language, the profest Champions of the *Property* and *Liberty* of the *English Nation*; the occasion this: The *Soveraignty* of the narrow Seas, had not onely been invaded by the *Hollanders* during the late

D troubles



troubles both at home and abroad; but that invasion had been justified in some publick writings. And thereupon, by the Advice of Mr. *Noy* his Attorney Generall, he issued certain writs in the tenth year of his Reign, *Anno* 1634. directed to all the Port Towns of the Kingdome, to set out a certain number of Ships furnisht with Mariners, Ammunition, Victuals, and all other necessities, for defence of the Realm; which Writs he afterwards extended also to the inland Counties, following therein the examples of his Predecessors, with which none was better able to instruct him, then he that gave him that Advice. By means whereof he did not only recover that Dominion which belonged to him on the Sea, but very much improved and enricht the Land, as before is said. Which notwithstanding, some of the discontented members of the former Parliament, and others of the same party, under colour of standing in defence of the Rights and Properties of the Subject, did stubbornly

bornly oppose the payment of that imposition, in which the Honour, Wealth, and Happinesse of this Kingdome was so much concerned. And though the King had the opinion of all the Judges, under their hands to justifie his proceedings in it; yet chose he rather to proceed against them in a legall way, then to make use of any arbitrary power, or the opinion of Judges, which extrajudicially had been given in the case. And so well did he prosper in it, that when it came to be argued in the Exchequer-chamber, of the twelve Judges, ten absolutely declared themselves for the lawfulnessse of it; the other two (being *Crook* and *Hutton*) dissenting openly from that opinion, to which they had formerly subscribed. So that here being a mixture also both of *Christian* and *Civil* Liberties, which were given out to be in danger; it is no marvel if the Faction in both Nations did conspire together, to disturb the peace and happinesse of this flourishing Kingdome.



1637.

The ground thus laid, it was thought fit the first part of the Tragedy should be plaid in *Scotland*. The Bishops of that Church, though they liked well enough of the *English* Liturgy, desired a Liturgy of their own, for fear of acknowledging some dependency of that Church on this; which being composed amongst themselves, and approved by some of the *English* Prelates, to whom his Majesty referred the perusal of it, was recommended to the *Scots* for the use of that Church, and the twenty third day of July, *Anno* 1637. appointed for the first exercise and reading of it: on this occasion followed the sedition at *Edenburgh*, encouraged under-hand by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Roxborow* and *Traquair*, and many other of the Kings false servants, both in Court and Councel.

This sedition afterwards brake out into open Action, the principall Sticklers

lers against the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Kings proceedings in the same, engaging the whole Nation in a solemn Covenant for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, and whatsoever they were pleased to comprehend under the generall Names of *Hereſie* and *Superſtition*, in which not onely the five Articles of *Perth*, but the whole Common-Prayer-Book was intended by them. And that they might be ſure to keep their party together, they bound themſelves in the ſaid Covenant, to ſtand to one another in purſuance and defence thereof, againſt all manner of perſons whatſoever, the King himſelf not being excepted. And though the King, by the perſwaſion of *Hamilton* here, and his untruſty ſervants there, gave order for the ſuppreſſing of that *Liturgy*, the High Commiſſion, the book of Canons, and even the Articles of *Perth*, though confirmed in Parliament, yet nothing could content their pride and inſolency, but the utter abolishing of Episcopall government: which ſince they

found the King resolved not to yield unto, they were resolved to do it without him ; in their Assembly held at *Glasco*, abolishing the Episcopal Order, and thundring their *Anathema's* and excommunications, not onely against the Bishops themselves, but all such as adhered unto them. And that they might be before-hand with him, they intercepted his Revenews, surpris'd all his Forts and Castles, and finally put themselves into open Armes.

1639.

This forced the King to set forth against them, accompanied with an Army Royall, and furnished with such a gallant Company of Lords and Gentlemen, as might assure him of a cheap and easie victory. But he conceiving that the terrour of his coming would reduce the *Scots* to obedience without blows or bloodshed, resolved in himself *not to outgo Muster and Ostentation*; and thereupon was very easily intreated

ted to refer all differences between them to certain Commissioners of both Kingdoms.

By their negotiation a generall Accord was made at *Barwick* on the seventeenth of *June Anno 1639.* upon which the King presently disbanded his Forces, and returned towards *London*, having effected nothing by his chargeable expedition, but his making the *Scots* more insolent then before they were, and giving them a greater Reputation in the eye of the world then before they had ; of which he became assured and sensible when it was too late,

For no sooner had he disbanded his Army, but the *Pacification* (such as it was) was openly protested against in the *Scots* Army; and many false copies of it were scattered abroad, to make it more dishonourable to the King, and of more advantage to themselves. The Officers of their Army were retained in pay, the old form of holding Parliaments in that Kingdome was altered

by them, and the prerogatives of the Crown invaded; their words and actions tending to a more generall Defection then before. So that the King was fain to call home his Sheat-Anchor the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whom not long after he created Earl of *Strafford*, in the County of *York*. By whose advice, seconded by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his Majesty about the beginning of *December* gave a publick intimation of a Parliament, to begin on the thirteenth day of *April* then next following.

And it was intimated so long beforehand for these two reasons. First, that the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdome, which he did, and managed so much to the Kings advantage, that an Army of 8000 Horse and Foot was speedily raised, and money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay, and furnish them with Ammunition, Arms, and all other necessaries. Secondly, that by the Reputation of a

following Parliament, he might be the better enabled to borrow money for the carrying on of the war, in case the Parliament should fail him, as it after did. For being come together at the time appointed, instead of Acting any thing in order to his Majesties service, they were at the point of passing a *Vote* for blasting his war against the *Scots*. To prevent which his Majesty was forced to dissolve them on the fifth of *May*, the *Convocation* still continuing, who granted him a Benevolence of foure shillings in the pound for all their Ecclesiasticall promotions, to be paid six years together then next ensuing.

The Members of the dissolved Parliament inflamed the people in all parts of the Kingdome with such discontentments, which actually brake out in *Southwark* into open sedition, not pacified without much danger, and the executing of the principal Leader. In the middle of which Distempers his Majesty was blest with a third Son, born on the



eight of *July*, Christned by the name of *Henry*, and by his Majesties command called Duke of *Glocester*.

1640.

To welcome this young Prince into the world, the *Scots* put themselves into Armes again, and backt by a strong faction here, thought that they could not do enough by standing on their defence at home, unlesse they entred *England* also, as they did accordingly. But they took not his Majesty unprovided, who had raised another gallant Army under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, as chief Generall, and the Earl of *Strafford* as the chief Commander under him; himself with all speed posting towards the *North*, as soon as the News of this invasion had been brought unto him. But scarce was he well settled in the head of his Army, but he was followed by a Petition from some Lords of *England*, conformable in the main points of it to a
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Declaration of the *Scots*, which they called *the Intention of the Army*. So that the Cloud which gathered behind him in the *South*, threatned more danger to him then the *Northern Tempest*, which blew directly in his teeth.

Sailing thus between *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, it concerned him to steer as even a course as the could, and thereupon he summoned the great Council of his Peers to attend him at *York*, that doing nothing in this great businesse without their advice, he might give himself the better hopes of their assistance, as his occasions should require. By their advice Commissioners are appointed to treat with the *Scots*, to understand their Grievances, the reasonablenesse or unreasonablenesse of their Demands, and finally to make up the breach by such an Accommodation as might conduce to the peace and happinesse of both Kingdomes, and his Majesties honour.

In the mean time he calls a Parliament, to begin at *Westminster* the third day

day of *November* then next following, which if it had been held at *York*, as lying nearest to the danger and Scene of action, might not have proved so fatall and destructive to him as it after did.

In the beginning of this Parliament, he cast himself on the love and loyalty of his *English* Subjects, in which he found himself deceived of his expectation. For the first thing they did, was to deprive him of the Counsels of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and thereby to terrifie all others from adhering to him in the times of his greatest need. These they impeacht of High Treason, removed them from the House of Peers, and committed them to the *Tower of London*, where the Archbishop staid four years before any particular charge, or any prosecution upon that charge, was brought against him. But with the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* they made quicker work, inviting the People of all the three Kingdomes to bring them in such
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matter as they had or could devise against him ; and having made all things ready for a publick Tryall, they brought him to the Bar before the Peers, sitting in *Westminster-Hall* on the sixth of *April* then next following ; but he so rationally pleaded in his own behalf, and so fully satisfied all objections which were made against him, that the Commons were fain to desist from the Course which they had begun, and to proceed against him in a Bill of *Attainder*.

For the better passing whereof the Commons framed a *Protestation* on the third of *May*, in many things not unlike the *Scottish Covenant* before mentioned, by which they bound themselves among other things, *to maintain and defend the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subject, to endeavour to bring to condigne punishment all such as shall either by Force, Practice, Plots, Counsels and Conspiracies, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary ;* (amongst which they

they reckon the Earl of *Strafford* to be one) and finally to stand unto one another, and to every other person whatsoever in any thing he shall do in pursuance of the said Protestation. Which Protestation being first taken by themselves, was the next day taken also by the House of Peers, and not long after obtruded on all the rest of the Kingdom.

But not finding this sufficient to effect their purpose, they first forced the Lords by Tumults, and afterwards the King by their importunities to passe that unhappy Bill of *Attainder*; which having obtained, they brought him to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill on the thirteenth of *May*, where with as much Christian confidence and magnanimity as could be exprest by flesh and blood, he delivered up his neck to the Executioner.

In order to this great work which they knew the *Scots* much laboured for, and had declared so much in a Pamphlet called *The intentions of the Army*, at their first coming into *England*, the lea-
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ding men in the house of Commons held a strict correspondency with the *Scots* Commissioners then residing in *London*, and voted no lesse then three hundred thousand pounds (by the name of a *brotherly Assistance*) to be given to the *Scots* in generall, under colour of repairing such damages as they had sustained in the time of this breach, but in plain truth to bind them fast unto themselves. And having made sure work with them, they deprived the King by little and little of almost all the ancient and undoubted prerogatives which of right belonged unto his Crown.

The power of calling Parliaments, in case of his neglect or refusall, is put into the hands of Sheriffs and Constables; his right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage* must be disclaimed by Act of Parliament; the *Bill* of the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, and that for the continuance of this Parliament during the pleasure of the Houses, are extorted by tumults. And by the terrour of the
like

84 *The Life and Reign*

like, the Act for *Knighthood* is repealed, and the imposition for ship-mony condemned as an illegall Tax, and abolished also. The like Acts passed against the office of the Clerk of the Market, the Court of *Stanneries*, his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, the authority of the *Council-Table*, the Courts of *Star-chamber* and *High Commission*, the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiasticall Courts, as also the Presidiall Courts held for a long time in *York* and the *Marches of Wales*. And finally, that he might lose both his strength in Parliament and his power with the People, they extorted the passing of two Acts, the one for taking away the Bishops Votes and place in the House of Peers, the other for disclaiming of his power in pressing Souldiers (enjoyed by all his Predecessors) for defence of his Person and the Realm.

And that they might the better awe the King to their Concessions, the Army of the *Scots* must be maintained
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with pay and plunder, till there was almost nothing left for them to crave, or the King to grant. But being at the last sent home, his Majesty followed not long after to settle his affairs in that broken kingdome; where to oblige that Nation to him, he confirmed not onely all his former concessions by Act of Parliament, but all such things also as had been acted by them in their Assembly held at *Glasco*. And more then so, he parted with so much of his royall Prerogative (invaded and usurped by them in the late Confusions) that he had almost nothing left remaining to him, but the empty Title, the having of a Sword carried before him, and some other outward pomps of Court, which signifie just nothing when the power is gone.

This good successe of the *Scots* encouraged the *Irish Papists* to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the same way as the *Scots* had gone; that is to say, by seizing his Towns, Forts, and Castles, putting themselves into the body of
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an Army, banishing or imprisoning all such as oppose their practises, and then petitioning the King for a publick Exercise of their Religion. The 23. of *October Anno 1641.* was the day designed for the seizing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and many places of great importance in the Kingdom. But failing in the main design which had been discovered the night before by one *Ocanelle*, they break out into open arms, dealing no better with the Protestants there then the *Covenanters* had done with the Royall party in *Scotland*.

Of this Rebellion (for it must be called a Rebellion in the *Irish*, though not in the *Scots*) the King gives present notice to his Houses of Parliament, requiring their counsel and assistance for the extinguishing of that flame before it had wasted and consumed that Kingdom. But neither the necessity of the Protestants there, nor the Kings importunity here, could perswade them to levie one man towards the suppression of

of those Rebels, till the King had disclaimed his power of pressing souldiers in an Act of Parliament, and thereby laid himself open to such acts of violence as were then hammering against him. Which having done, they put an army of *Scots* (their most assured Friends) into the Northern parts of *Ireland*, delivering up into their hands the strong Town and Port of *Carickfergus*, one of the chief keys of that Kingdom; and afterwards sent a small body of *English* to preserve the South, which *English* forces having done notable service there against the Rebels, were kept so short both in respect of pay and other necessities by the Houses of Parliament, (who had made use of the mony raised for the relief of *Ireland* to maintain a War against their King) that they were forced to come to a *Cessation*, and cheerfully returned home again to assist the King in that just War which he had undertaken for his own defence. The ground and occasion of which War we are next to shew.

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At such time as he was in *Scotland* and expostulated with some of the chiefs among them, touching their coming into *England* in an hostile manner, he found that some who were now leading men in the Houses of Parliament had invited them to it. And having furnished himself with some proofs for it, he commanded his Attorney Generall to impeach some of them of high Treason; that is to say, the L. *Kimbolton*, a Member of the House of Peers, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Strode*, of the House of Commons. But sending a Serjeant at Arms to arrest their persons, there came a countermand from the House of Commons, by which the Serjeant was deterred from doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themselves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being the 4. of *January*, his Majesty being no otherwise attended then with his ordinary Guard, went to the House of Commons to demand the five Members of that House, that he might

might proceed against them in a way of justice; but his intention was discovered, and the birds flown before his coming.

This was voted by the Commons for such an inexpressible breach of privilege, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his desisting from the prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction. Nothing must satisfy their *jealousies* and secure their *fears*, but the putting of the *tower of London* into their hands, together with the command of the Royal Navie, as also all the Forts, Castles, and the Trainbands of the Kingdome, all comprehended under the name of the *Militia*; which if his Majesty would fling after all the rest, they would continue his most loyall subjects. On this the King demurs a while, but having shipt the Queen for *Holland*, and got the Prince into his own power, he becomes more resolute, and stoutly holds on the denial.

Finding the Members too strong for him, and *London*, by reason of the
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continual Tumults, to be a dangerous neighbour to him, he withdraws to *York*, that being in a place of safety, he might the better find a way to compose those differences which now began to embroil the kingdome. At *Hull* he had a Magazine of arms and ammunition provided for the late intended war against the Scots, and laid up there when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was denied entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by the appointment of the House of Commons had took charge of that place.

The Gentry of *York-shire* who had petitioned the King to secure that *Magazin*, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done also by the Yeomandry, and those of the inferiour sort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by the Committee of four Gentlemen, all Mem-
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bers of the House, and all of them Natives of that Countrey, sent thither purposely (in a new and unprecedented way) to lie as Spies upon his Counsels, and as controllers to his actions.

Some Messages there were betwixt him and the Houses of Parliament, concerning the attoning of these differences, whilst he was at *York*. But the XIX. Propositions sent thither to him, did declare sufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unless he had made himself a cypher, a thing of no signification in the *Arithmetick* of State.

And now the War begins to open. The Parliament had their Guards already, and the Affront which *Hotham* had put upon his Majesty at *Hull*, prompted the Gentlemen of *York-shire* to tender themselves for a Guard to his Person. This presently voted by both Houses to be a levying of War against the Parliament, for whose defence, not onely the Train-bands of *London* must be in readinesse, and the good people of
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the countrey required to put themselves into a posture of arms ; but Regiments of *Horse* and *Foot* are listed, a Generall appointed, great summes of Money raised, and all this under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his evil Counsellours.

The noise of these preparations hastens the King from *Torke* to *Notingham*, where he sets up his *Standard*, inviting all his good Subjects to repair unto him, for defence of their King, the Lawes and Religion of their Countrey. He increased his Forces as he marched, which could not come unto the reputation of an Army, till he came into *Shropshire*, where great bodies of the loyall and stout-hearted *Welch* resorted to him.

Strengthened with these, and furnished sufficiently with Field Pieces, Armes and Ammunition, which the Queen had sent to him out of *Holland*, he resolves upon his march towards *London* ; but
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on *Sunday* the twenty third of *October* was encountred in the way, at a place called *Edge-Hill*, by the Parliament Forces. The Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then five thousand men slain upon the place; the Prologue to a greater slaughter, if the dark night had not put an end unto that dispute.

Each part pretended to the victory, but it went clearly on the Kings side, who though he lost his Generall, yet he kept the Field, and possessed himself of the dead bodies; and not so onely, but he made his way open unto *London*, and in his way forced *Barbury* Castle, in the very sight as it were of the Earl of *Essex*, who with his flying Army made all the haste he could towards the City (that he might be there before the King) to secure the Parliament. More certain signs there could not be of an absolute victory.

In the Battel of *Taro*, between the Confederates of *Italy* and *Charles* the eighth of *France*, it hapned so that the Con-
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federates kept the Field, possess themselves of the Camp, Baggage and Artillery, which the *French* in their breaking through had left behind them. Hereupon a dispute was raised, to whom the Honour of that day did of right belong; which all knowing and impartial men gave unto the *French*. For though they lost the Field, their Camp, Artillery and Baggage, yet they obtained what they fought for, which was the opening of their way to *France*, and which the *Confederates* did intend to deprive them of. Which resolution in that case may be a ruling case to this; the King having not only kept the Field, possess himself of the dead bodies, pillaged the carriages of the enemy, but forcibly opened his way towards *London*, which the enemy endeavoured to hinder, and finally entred triumphantly into *Oxford*, with no fewer then an hundred and twenty *Colours* taken in the Fight.

Having assured himself of *Oxford* for his *winter* Quarters, he resolved on his
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Advance towards *London*, but had made so many halts in the way, that *Essex* was got thither before him; who had disposed of his Forces at *Kingston*, *Brentford*, *Acton*, and some other places thereabouts, not onely to stop his march, but to fall upon him in the Rear, as occasion served. Yet he goes forward notwithstanding as far as *Brentford*, out of which he beats two of their best Regiments, takes five hundred Prisoners, sinks their *Ordnance*, with an intent to march forwards on the morrow after being *Sunday*, and the twelfth of *November*. But understanding that the Earl of *Essex* had drawn his Forces out of *Kingston*, and joyning with the *London* Auxiliaries, lay in the way before him at a place called *Turnham-Green* neer *Cheswick*, it was thought safer to retreat towards *Oxford* while the way was open, then to venture his Army to the fortune of a second Battel, which if it were lost it would be utterly impossible for him to raise another.

At *Oxford* he receives Propositions of peace from the Houses of Parliament, but such as rather did beseem a conquering then a losing side. But being resolved to treat upon them howsoever, he found the Commissioners so straitned in time, and so tied to such particular instructions as the Houses had given them, that nothing could be yielded to which might conduce to the composing of the present Distempers.

At the opening of the *Spring*, the Queen came to him, who had landed at a place in *York-shire* called *Burlington-Bay* in the end of *February*, and now brought with her unto *Oxford* some supplies of men with a considerable stock of Powder, Arms, and Ammunition.

1643.

The next Summer makes him master of the *North* and *West*, some few places onely being excepted. The Earl of *Newcastle* with his Northern Army had cleared

red all parts beyond *Trent* (but the Town of *Hull*) of the enemies Forces. And with his own Army under the command of Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* (two of the younger Sons of his Sister *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*) hereduced the Cities of *Bristol*, and *Exeter*, the Port Town of *Weymouth*, and all the Towns of any importance in the *Western* parts, except *Pool*, *Lime* and *Plimouth*. So that he was in a manner the absolute Commander of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorset* *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*. And though the Towns of *Plimouth*, *Lime*, and *Pool* still held out against him, yet were they so bridled by his neighbouring Garrisons, that they were not able to create him any great Disturbance.

The noise of these successes was so loud at *London*, that most of the leading men in both Houses of Parliament prepared for quitting of the Kingdome, and had undoubtedly so done, if the King had followed his good fortunes,

and advanced towards *London*. But unhappily diverting upon *Glocester*, he lay so long there, without doing any thing to the purpose, that the Earl of *Essex* came time enough to raise the Siege and relieve the Town, though he made not hast enough to recover *London* without blowes. For besides some skirmishes on the *by*, which fell out to his losse, the King with the whole body of his Army overtook him at *Newberry*, where after a sharp fight (with the losse of the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viscount *Falkland* on his Majesties side) he had the worst of the day, and had much ado to save his Canon, and march off orderly from the place; followed so hotly the next morning, that his own Horse, which were in the Reere, were faine to make their way over a great part of his Foot, to preserve themselves.

Being returned to *Oxford* with Success and Honour, he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend

attend there on the twenty second day of *January* then next following; and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Earl of *Holdernes* and Duke of *Cumberland*, and creates *James* his second Son (born the eleventh day of *October*, Anno 1633) Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might sit and vote amongst them. But being come, they neither would take upon themselves the name of a *Parliament*, nor acted much in order to his Majesties designs; but stood so much upon their terms, and made so many unhandsome motions to him upon all occasions, that he had more reason to call them a *Mongrel Parliament* in one of his Letters to the Queen, then they were willing to allow of.

1644.

And now the Summer coming on,
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and the time fit for Action, he dismisses them to their severall dwellings, and betakes himself unto the Field. The frequent traverses whereof, the interchangeable taking and losing of Towns by the chance of war, are too many in number to be comprised in this short Abstract. It must suffice if I take notice of those onely which are most considerable.

His Majesty prevailing in the North and West, 'twas thought fit by the ruling party in the Houses of Parliament, to crave aid of the *Scots*, whom they drew in the second time, by the temptations of entring into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that, sharing amongst them all the Lands of the Bishops, and sacrificing to their malice the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as formerly they had done the Earl of *Strafford*. But besides these plausible allurements, the Commissioners of that Kingdome were to have so great a stroke in the Government

of this, that the Houses could act nothing in order to the present war, no not so much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without their consent.

Upon these baits they entred *England* with a puissant Army consisting of one and twenty thousand men well armed, and fitted for the service : and having made themselves Masters of *Barwick*, *Newcastle*, and all other places of importance on the other side of the *Tweed*, they laid Siege to *York*, where they were seconded by the Army of the Earl of *Manchester* drawn out of the associated Counties, and the remaining *York-shire* Forces under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*,

The news whereof being brought to *Oxford*, Prince *Rupert* is dispatcht with as much of the Kings forces as could well be spared, with a Commission to raise more out of the Counties of *Chester*, *Salop*, *Stafford*, *Darby*, *Leicester*, and *Lancaster*. So that he came before

York with an Army of twelve thousand Men, relieved the Town with all things necessary, and might have gone away unfought with, but that such Counsell was too cold for so hot a stomach. Resolved upon the onset, he encountred with the enemy at a place called *Marston-moor*, where the left Wing of his Horse gave such a fierce Charge on the right Wing of the enemy, consisting of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Horse in the Van, and the *Scots* Horse in the Reere that they fell foul on that part of their own Foot which was made up of the Lord *Fairfax* his Regiments, and a reserve of the *Scots*, which they brake wholly, and trod most of them under their Horses feet. But the Princes Horse following the execution too far, and none advancing to make good the place which they had left, the enemy had the opportunity to rally again, and got the better of the day; taking some Prisoners of good note, and making themselves masters of his Canon. So that not being able to do any thing in order

der to the regaining of the Field he marched off ingloriously, squandred away the greatest part of his Army, and retired to *Bristol*.

After this blow the Affairs of the North growing more desperate every day then other, *York* yielded upon composition on the sixteenth of *July* (being a just fortnight after the fight) the Marquesse of *Newcastle* and some principall Gentlemen past over the Seas, and the strong Town of *Newcastle* was taken by the *Scots* on the nineteenth of *October* following.

In the mean time, the Queen being with child, began to draw neer the time of her Delivery. And it was generally believed that the Earl of *Essex* with his Forces had some aim on *Oxford*, as the Seat Royall of the King, the Residence of his Court and Council, and the Sanctuary of a considerable part of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy. In which respect it was thought fit that the Queen should remove to
Exeter,

Exceter, as a place more remote from danger, and not far from the Sea, by which she might take shipping for *France* as occasion served,

On the sixteenth of *April* she began her journey, the King bearing her company as far as *Abingdon*, where they took leave of one another, neither of them having any the least presage, that the parting Kisse which they then took was to be their last. Convoï'd with a sufficient strength of Horse for her security on the way, she was received there with as much magnificence as that City was able to expresse; and on the sixteenth day of *June* was safely delivered of a Daughter, whom she Christened by the name of *Henrietta*,

As soon as she had well passed over the weaknesses and infirmities incident to Child-bed, she committed the young Princess to the Lady *Dalkeith*, a Daughter of Sir *Edward Villiers*, one of the half Brothers of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

ham, and wife unto the Lord *Dalkeith*, the eldest Son of the Earl of *Morton*. Which having done (according to some instructions which she had received from the King) she took shipping at *Pendennis* Castle on the fifteenth of *July*, and passed into *France*, there to negotiate for some supplies of money, Arms and Ammunition for the advance of his Majesties service, and to continue howsoever in the Court of the King her Brother, till she might return again in Honour and safety.

And to say truth, her Removall from *Oxford* was not onely seasonable, but exceeding necessary at that time, the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller* with their severall Forces not long after her departure drawing neer to *Oxford*; on whose approach his Majesty leaving the greatest part of his Army for defence of that place, marched on directly towards *Wales*. Upon the News whereof, it was thought fit by the two Generalls, to divide their
Armies;

104 *The Life and Reign*

Armies ; it being agreed upon that Sir *William Waller* should pursue the King, and that the Earl of *Essex* should march towards the *west*, for the regaining of those Countries.

And now *the mystery of iniquity* appeared in its proper colours : For whereas it was formerly given out by the Houses of Parliament, that they had undertaken the war, for no other reason but to remove the King from his evil Counsellors : those *evil Counsellors* were left at *Oxford* unmolested, and the Kings Person onely hunted.

But the King understanding of this division, thought himself able enough to deal with *Waller*, and giving him the go by, returned towards *Oxford*, drew thence the remainder of his Army, and gave him a sharp meeting at a place called *Cropredy-bridge*, where he obtained a signal victory on the twenty eighth of *June*, and entred triumphantly into *Oxford*. This done he marched after the Earl of *Essex*, who had made himself master of some places in the *West* of good importance.

Du-

During this march, it hapned that one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow lane which they were to passe, and gave his Majesty a stop at a time of an intollerable shower of rain which fell upon him: Some of his Courtiers, and others which were neer about him, offered to hew him out a way through the hedges with their swords, that he might get shelter in some of the Villages adjoyning; but he resolved not to forsake his Canon upon any occasion. At which when some about him seemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he shewed in that extremity, his Majesty lifting up his hat, made answer, *That as God had given him Afflictions to exercise his patience, so he had given him patience to bear his Afflictions.* A speech so heavenly and Divine, that it is hardly to be parallel'd by any of the men of God in all the Scripture.

The cariage being mended, he went forward again, and trod so close upon the heels of the Earl of Essex, that at
last

108 *The Life and Reign*

last he drave him into *Cornwall*, and there reduced him to that point, that he put himself into a Cock-boat with *Sir Philip Stapleton* and some others, and left his whole army to his Majesties mercy. His Horse taking the advantage of a dark night, made a shift to escape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this capitulation with his Majesty, that they should depart without their Arms, which with their Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of very great consideration, were left wholly to his disposing.

Immediately after this successe, his Majesty dispatch'd a message from *Tavestock* to the two houses of Parliament, in which he laid before them the miserable condition of the Kingdome; remembering them of those many messages which he had formerly sent unto them, for an accommodation of the present Differences; and now desiring them to bethink themselves of some expedient by which this issue of blood might be dried up, the distraction of the

the Kingdome settled, and the whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happinesse,

To which Message, as to many others before, they either gave no answer, or such an one as rather served to widen, than close the breach, falsely conceiving that all his Majesties offers of Grace and Favour proceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weaknesse and irresolution of his Counsels. So that the *Tragedy* of the *two Harlots* in the first of *Kings*, may seem to have been acted over again on the Stage of *England*. The King, like the true Mother, compassionately desired that the life of the poor infant might be preserved; the Houses, like the false Mother, considering that they could not have the whole, *voted* that it should be neither *mine* nor *thine*, but divided betwixt them.

But if instead of this Message from *Tavestock*, his Majesty had gone on his own errand, and marched with his
Army

Army towards *London*, it was conceived that in all probability he might have made an end of the War; the Army of *Essex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester* not returned from the Northern service. But sitting down before *Plimouth*, and staying there to perfect an Association of the Western Counties, he spent so much time, that *Essex* was again in the head of his Army; being seconded by the Earl of *Manchester* and Sir *William Waller*, made a stand at *Newbery*, where after a very hot fight, with variable success on both sides, each party drew off by degrees, so that neither of them could find cause to boast of the victory.

Winter comes on, which though it be not ordinarily a time of action, will notwithstanding afford us some variety which will not be unworthy of our observation. And first, a Garrison is formed at *Abington*, (a Town within five miles of *Oxford*) by order from the two Houses of Parliament, under the command of Collonel *Brown*; the King and Coun-

Councill looking on, and suffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raised, and the Ordnance to be planted on the same.

It cannot be denied, but that Sir *Henry Gage*, Governour at that time of *Oxford*, and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about that city, offered their service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that mischief which by the Intrenchments of this Town must needs fall upon them. But the Lord *George Digby*, not long before made principall Secretary of Estate, had perswaded the King unto the contrary, upon assurance that he held intelligence with *Brown*, and that as soon as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victuall, Arms and Ammunition, at the charges of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into his Majesties hand. In which design he was out-witted, and consequently exposed unto some loss of reputation with all sorts of people. For *Brown* having brought

brought his project to the *highest round of the ladder* (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turne it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King ; printing not long after all the Letters which passed between him and the Lord Digby upon this occasion.

After this followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a place of very great importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *Wales*, situate on a rising ground, and almost encompassed round about by the river *Severn* ; that part which is not invironed by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle, By the loss of which Town the Kings former intercourse with his loyall Subjects of *North-Wales* was not onely hindred, but a present stop was given to an Association, which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, &c. to the great prejudice of the Kings affairs in those Parts of the Kingdome.

Then

Then comes the lamentable death of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, kept for four years a prisoner in the Tower of *London*, as before was said; but reserved onely as a bait to bring in the *Scots*, whensoever the Houses should have occasion for their second coming; as formerly on the like temptation they had drawn them in, with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*. The Scots being come, and doing good service in the North, it was thought fit they should be gratified with that blood which they so greedily thirsted after. And thereupon the Archbishop being voted guilty of High Treason by the House of Commons, was condemned to die in such a slender House of Lords, that onely seven (*viz.* the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrook*, the Lords *North*, *Gray* and *Brews*) were present at the passing of the sentence of his condemnation. Which being past, he was brought unto the Scaffold on Tower-hil on the tenth of *January*, where he ended his life with such a modest

dest confidence, and so much piety, that his greatest enemies then present, who came to behold the Execution with hearts full of joy, returned back with eyes as full of tears.

Last of all, comes another Treaty solicited by the King, consented to by the Houses with no small difficulty, and that upon condition to have the Treaty held at *Uxbridge*, a Town about fifteen miles from *London*, and more then twice as much from *Oxford*. According unto which appointment the Commissioners met on the thirtieth of *January*, accompanied with some Divines, for debating the point of Church Government, when it came in question. But this Treaty proved as unsuccessefull as that at *Oxford* had done before; the Commissioners for the Houses offering no expedient for an Accommodation, nor hearkening unto such as were tendred to them in the name of the King. So that there being no hope of bringing the Warre unto an end
this

this way, both parties were resolved to proceed in the other.

The King having wintred his Army at *Oxford* and the Towns adjoyning, it was thought fit to send the Prince into the West to perfect the Association which had been begun in the end of the last summer: and in those Countries to advance such further forces as might not onely serve for the defence of themselves, but give some reasonable increase to his Majesties Army.

In the beginning of *April* he set forwards towards *Bristol*, accompanied with the Lord *Culpeper* and Sir *Edward Hyde*, as his principall Counsellours, and some of the chief Gentry of the West, who were of most authority in their severall Countreys. But before he had made himself master of any considerable strength, news came of the unfortunate successe of the Battel of *Naseby*, which much retarded his proceedings; and hearing afterwards that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his victorious Army was marching towards him, he
quit-

quitted *Somerset-shire*, and drew more Westward into the middle of *Devon-shire*.

Bristol being taken, and his Majesties affairs growing worse and worse, both there and elsewhere, he sent a Message unto *Fairfax*, desiring a safe conduct for the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Culpeper* to go to the King and mediate with him for a Treaty with the Parliament. To which after a fortnights deliberation, he receives an answer the eight of *November* to this effect, That if he would disband his Army, and apply himself unto the Parliament, the Generall himself in person would conduct him thither.

No hopes of doing good this way, and lesse the other, *Exeter* being besieged, and *Barnstable* taken by the enemies forces, he leaves his Army to the Lord *Hopton*, and withdraws into the Dukedome of *Cornwall*. But finding that Countrey unable to protect him long, he passeth into the Isle of *Silly*, and from thence unto the Queen his
Mo-

Mother, whom he found at *Paris*, not doubting but to receive such entertainment in that Court, as might be justly looked for by the eldest Son of a Daughter of *France*. Which passages I have laid together in this place, that I might follow his Majesties affairs elsewhere with the less interruption.

The Prince being gone for *Bristol*, as before is said, his Majesty resolved on the approach of Summer, to relieve such of his Northern Garrisons; as had been left untaken the year before, and from thence to bestow a visit on the associated Counties. But being on his march, and having stormed the Town of *Leicester* in his way, he returned again so far as *Daventry*, upon the news that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* newly made Generall in the place of *Essex*, was late down before *Oxford*.

Concerning which we are to know, that not long after the beginning of this everlasting Parliament, the *Puritan*
Faction

Faction became subdivided into *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; of which the *Presbyterians* at the first carried all before them. The *Independents* growing up by little and little, and being better studied in the arts of dissimulation, easily undermined the others, and outed their Lord Generall, and all that commanded under him, of their severall places, under colour of an Ordinance for *Self-denyall*. That done, they conferred that command on Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a man of more Precipitation then Prudence, - not so fit for Counsell as Execution, and better to charge on an Enemy then command an Army. With him they joyned Collonel *Oliver Cromwel* (whom they dispensed with in the point of *self-denyall*) by the name of Lieutenant General; but so that he disposed of all things as Commander in chief, and left *Fairfax* to his old trade of Execution, to which he had been accustomed.

The like alteration happened also in the Kings Army; Collonel Sir *Patrick Ruthen,*

Ruthen, a man of approved valour and Fidelity, being by his Majesty made Earl of *Forth* in *Scotland*, was on the death of the Earl of *Lindsey* made the Lord Lieutenant of his Armies; and the next year made Earl of *Brentford*, for the good service he had done in that place. Having both fortunately and faithfully discharged that office for two years and more, he was outed of his place by a Court-contrivement made in the favour of Prince *Rupert*, who a little before Christmas last was declared *Generallissimo* of his Majesties Forces: which he most ambitiously aspired unto, and at last obtained, notwithstanding his late defeat at *Marston-Moor* his squandring away so brave an army, and his apparent want of Age, Experience and Moderation for so great a trust.

By these new Generals the fortune of the War, and the whole estate of the Kingdome, which lay then at stake, came to be decided. For *Fairfax* hearing that the King was come back as far as

Daventry (which was the matter he desired) made directly towards him, with an intent to give him battel, and at a place neer *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire*, the two Armies met on Saturday the 14. of *June*. The King had the better at the first, but Prince *Rupert* having routed one wing of the enemies Horse, followed the chace so unadvisedly, that he left the foot open to the other wing; who pressing hotly on them, put them to an absolute rout, and made themselves Masters of his Camp, Carriage and Canon, and amongst other things, of his Majesties Cabinet, in which they found many of his Letters, most of them written to the Queen, which were after publisht with little honour to them that did it. For whereas the *Athenians* on the like successe had intercepted a packet of Letters from *Philp* King of *Macedon*, their most bitter enemy, unto severall friends, all the rest of those Letters being broke open before the Common Council of *Athens*, one of which was subscribed to the Queen

Queen *Olympias*, was returned untoucht; the whole Senate thinking it a shamefull and dishonest act to discover and betray the Conjugall secrets betwixt man and wife. A modesty in which those of *Athens* stand as much commended by *Helladius Bisantinus*, an ancient Writer, as the chief leading men of the Houses of Parliament are like to stand condemned for the want of it in succeeding Histories.

But we return unto the King; who having saved himself by flight, gathered together some part of his scattered Forces, but never was able to make head against the conquerors; losing one place after another, till his whole strength was almost reduced to *Oxford*, and some few Garrisons adjoyning. I shall take notice onely of some of the principal, viz. *Chester*, *Conway*, *Hereford*, *Bristol*, and *Exeter*, on which so great a part of his affairs did most especially depend.

Chester first comes within the danger, a City of great importance in those parts of the Kingdome. To the relief of this place then besieged by Sir *VVilliam Brereton*, Collonel *Jones*, and others of that party, and at that time brought to some distresse, he made all the convenient speed he could; but was pursued upon the way, and charged in front by the besiegers, betwixt whom this small Army was routed at a place called *Bauton-Heath*, and the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly created Earl of *Lichfield*) killed upon the place; the last of three brethren that had lost their lives in their Princes quarrell.

On this discomfiture, the King draws towards the North-East, and commands the Lord *Digby* with the Remainder of his Horse to march for *Scotland*, and there to joyn with the Marquesse of *Montrosse*, who with small strengths had acted Miracles in that Kingdome. But at a Village in *Yorkshire* called *Sherbourn* (a fatall name, but pointing to another place) where he surprized 700 of the Parliaments Foot,

he was set upon by Collonel *Coply*, his Forces made drunk with the good fortune of the day very easily mastered, and he himself compelled to fly into *Ireland*, never returning since that time to his Native Country.

But notwithstanding the Kings misfortune before mentioned, which happened on the twenty ninth of *September*, the Lord *Byron*, who had the command of the Garrison in *Chester*, held it out gallantly till the first of *February*; and then perceiving that there was no hopes of any Succour, came to an honourable composition, and gave up the Town, the greatest part of the Countrey falling into the same condition with their mother City.

Before we leave the North-west parts, we must look upon the fortune of the Town and Castle of *Conway*, a place of principall Command on that narrow Channell which runneth between the County of *Carnarvon* and the Isle of *Anglesey*. Before this Town, being then besieged by Collonel *Mit-*

ton came Doctor *John Williams*, formerly Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, and at that time Arch-bishop of *York* : Who to ingratiate himself with the Houses of Parliament, and to save the charges of compounding for Delinquency, came with some forces to the aid of the Besiegers (some say in Armour) and encamped there till the place was taken ; to the Amazement of the world and the eternall infamy and Reproch of his Person.

Bristol comes next, a place conveniently seated for the Trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great Ships, and the port well guarded. At the taking of this City by the Kings Forces, to such strengths as before it had, there was added a Fort Royall (as they called it) then conceived impregnable ; into this City Prince *Rupert* (who had spent there too much of the year before) had put himself at the present, and was besieged not long after by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who came before it on the twenty fourth of *August*, and had it surrendered
to

to him without any memorable resistance, together with the old Castle and the Royall Fort, on the thirteenth of September.

The quick surrendry of which place, being so well fortified and furnisht with victuall, Arms and Ammunition, and the weak defences which were made to preserve the same, created some suspicion of disloyalty in Prince *Rupert* towards the King his Uncle. There had before passed some Letters betwixt the King and him, touching the Kings coming to a speedy agreement with his Houses of Parliament, in which the King was prest so far, that he seemed to be displeased at it. And now this news coming on the neck of those Letters, startled him into such a distrust of his Nephews Loyalty, that he dispatcht a messenger with all speed to the Lords at *Oxford*, to displace Collonell *William Legg* (one of the Confidents of Prince *Rupert*) who had succeeded Sir *Henry Gage* in the Government of that City, and to put into his place

Sir *Thomas Glenham*, a Gentleman of known extraction, and more known fidelity.

Nor were the Lords of the Council lesse amazed at the news then his Majesty was, who thereupon, when Prince *Rupert* and his Brother *Maurice* returned to *Oxford*, commanded them to be disarmed, and would not suffer them to walk the streets with their Swords by their sides, as they had done formerly; though afterwards by the Kings great goodnesse, they were restored to all apparences of favour, though not to any speciall places of Command or Trust.

Hereford followes the same fortune, which having in vain been besieged by the *Scots*, from the 13. of *July* to the first of *September*, was suddenly surprized by Collonel *Birch* and Collonel *Morgan* (this last then Governour of *Glocester*) on the eighteenth of *December*.

Exceter holds out longest, and was last attempted, such blocks as lay in the way between *Fairfax* his Army and that City

City being first in the course of war to be removed. Which took up so much time that it was the twenty fifth day of *January* before *Fairefax* could come neer enough to give it a Summons, and being summon'd it held out till the thirteenth of *April*, and then was yielded upon as honourable Conditions as any other whatsoever; all other Garrisons in the West being first surrendred, the Princes forces worsted at *Torrington*, not long after disbanded upon Composition, and he himself retired into *France* for his personall safety.

All these mischances thus happing on the neck of one another, all the Kings hopes and expectation rested upon the coming of Sir *Jacob Astley*, created Lord *Astley* of *Reading* two years since; Who having kept together some Remainders of the Kings Forces since the Fight neer *Chester*, and increasing them with the Accession of some fresh supplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir *John*
Cramps-

Campfield with the *Oxford* Horse. But either through the want of intelligence, or the necessity of fate, or some occasionall delays, it was so long before *Campfield* was upon his march, that the news came of the Lord *Astleys* being vanquish'd at a place called *Donnington* neer *Stow* on the *Wald*, on the 21 of *March*. In which fight himself was taken prisoner, and with him all the Kings hopes lost of preserving *Oxford*, till he could better his condition.

1646

In this extremity he left the City in disguise on the 27 day of *April*, *Anno* 1646. and on the fourth of *May* put himself into the hands of Scots, then lying at the siege of *Newark*. After the taking of which Town, they carried him to *Newcastle*, and there kept him under a Restraint.

The news hereof being brought to *Oxford*, and seconded by the coming
of

of the whole Army of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who laid siege unto it, disposed the Lords of the Council, and such of the principall Gentry who had the conduct of the Affair, to come to a speedy Composition. According whereunto, that City was surrendred on *Midsomer* day; *James Duke of York* the Kings second Son, together with the Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, were delivered up into the hands of the enemy: by whom the young Duke was sent to *Westminster*, and kept in the House of *S. James* under a Guard with his Brother and Sisters; the Seals being carried into the House of Peers, and there broke in pieces.

But long these young Princes were not kept together under that restraint, the Princess *Henrietta* being in a short time after conveyed into *France* by the Lady *Dalkieth*; and the Duke of *York*, attired in the habit of a young Lady transported into *Holland* by one Captain *Bamfield*.

The Scots in the meane time being
desirous

desirous to make even with their *Masters*, to receive the *wages* of their *iniquity*, and to get home in safety, with that spoil and plunder which they had gotten in their marching and remarching betwixt *Tweed* and *Hereford*, had not the patience to attend the leisure of any more voluntary surrendries. They therefore pressed the King to give order to the Marquesse of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, and to all the Governours of his Garrisons in *England*, to give up all the Towns and Castles which remained untaken, to such as should be appointed to receive them for the Houses of Parliament, assuring him that otherwise they neither could nor durst continue him in their protection.

To this necessity he submitted, but found not such a generall obedience to his commands as the *Scots* expected. For not the Marquesse of *Ormond* onely, but many of the Governours of Towns and Castles in *England* considered him as being under a constraint, and speaking rather the sense of others than
his

his own; upon which grounds they continued still upon their guard, in hope of better times or of better conditions.

But nothing was more hotly pressed by the *Scots*, then that the Marquesse of *Montrose* should lay down his Commission, who with small strength in the beginning, and inconsiderable forces when they were at the best, had acted things in *Scotland* even unto admiration. For besides many victories of lesse consequence, he had twice beaten the Marquesse of *Argile* out of the field, followed him home, and wasted his Countrey with Fire and Sword. He vanquisht *Baily*, one of the best Souldiers of the Faction, commanding over a well-formed Army in a set battel fought between them; followed his blow, and made himself Master of the City and Castle of *Edenburgh*, releasing divers of his Friends who had been seized and imprisoned there when he first took arms. Had the Lord *Digby's* Horse come to him, he had not onely
per-

perfected, but assured the conquest of that Kingdome. But instead of those aids which he expected, he was unexpectedly set upon, and his whole Army broken by *David Lesley*, sent from the Scots army in *England* with six thousand Horse to oppose the progresse of his fortune; whose coming being known to the Earl of *Roxborow* and *Traquair*, (in whom the King continued still his wonted confidence) was purposely concealed from him; to the end that he being once suppressed, and in him the Kings power destroyed in *Scotland*, they might be sure from being called to an account of their former Treasons: however he began to make head again, and was in a way of well-doing, when he received the Kings command to disband his Forces; to which he readily conformed, took ship, and put himself into a voluntary exile.

These Obstacles removed, his Majesty conceived some thoughts of finding Sanctuary in *Scotland*, the Scots having

having first assured him, (as he signifi-
ed by Letter to the Marquesse of Or-
mond) before he put himself into their
hands, that they would not onely take
his person, but so many of his party al-
so as repaired unto him, into their pro-
tection, and stand to him with their lives
and fortune. According to which hopes
on his part, and those assurances on
theirs, he had a great mind to return
to his Native Countrey, his *Ancient
and Native Kingdome*, as he used to call
it, there to expect the bettering of his
condition in the changes of time,

But the *Scots* hearing of his purpose,
and having long ago cast off the yoke
of Subjection, voted against his com-
ing to them in a full Assembly; so that
we may affirm of him as the Scripture
doth of Christ our Saviour, *viz. He
came unto his own, and his own recei-
ved him not.* The like resolution also
was entertained by the Commissio-
ners of that Nation, and the chiefe
Leaders of their Army, who had con-
tracted

tracted with the *Houses* of Parliament, and for the summe of two hundred thousand pounds in ready money, sold and betrayed him into the hands of his Enemies, as certainly they would have done with the Lord Christ himself for halfe the money, if he had *bowed the Heavens* and came down to visit them.

By the Commissioners sent from the Houses to receive him, he was conducted to *Holdenby* a fair house of his own, and one of the goodliest Piles in England, scituate not far from *Naseby*, (to the intent that he might be continually grieved with the sight of the fatall place of his overthrow) but kept so close that none of his Domestick servants, no, not so much as any of his own Chaplains were suffered to have Access unto him.

In the mean time a breach began betwixt the *Presbyterian* Party in both Houses and some chief Officers of the Army, which growing every day wider and wider, one Cornet *Joice*,
with

with a considerable party of Horse, was sent to seize on his Majesties Person, and bring him safe to their head Quarters. There at the first he was received with all possible demonstrations of Love and Duty, some of his Chaplains licensed to repair unto him, and read the Book of Common-Prayer as in former times, and the way open to all those of his party who desired to see him.

This made the Animosities between those of the two Houses and the Army to be far greater then before, the City closing with that party of the Houses which desired the Kings coming to the Parliament, and going down in a tumultuous manner required the present voting of a Personal Treaty. This made the Speaker and such of both Houses, as either held for the Army or had no mind to see the Kings Return to *London*, to quit the Parliament, and to betake themselves to their Protection; encouraged wherewith they resolved upon their march towards *London*,

to restore those members to their Houses, and those Houses to the Power and Freedom of Parliaments. Upon the noise of whose Approach, the Citizens who before spake big, and had begun to raise an Army, under the Command of the Lord *Willowby* of *Parham*, sent their Petitions for a peace, and gladly opened all their works between *Hide-Park* Corner and the *Thames*, to make an entrance for the Army; who having placed their Speakers in their severall Chaires, and suppressed those of the opposite party, made a triumphant passage through the chief Streets of the City, with Trumpets sounding, Drums beating, and Colours flying.

The King removed from one place to another, was brought in the course of those Removes to *Casam* Lodge, an House of the Lord *Cravens* not far from *Reading*, where he obtained the favour of giving a meeting to his Children at *Maydenbitb*, and there they dined together; the Generall willingly consent-

Consenting, and the Houses then not daring to make any denyall.

From thence he was at last brought to his own Palace of *Hampton Court*, where being terrified with the Apprehension of some Dangers, which were given out to be designed against his person by the *Adjutators*, who for a time much governed the lower part of the Army, he left that place, accompanied onely with two or three of his servants, and put himself unfortunately into the power of Collonel *Hammond* in the *Isle of Wight*, where no relief could come unto him.

Being secured in *Carisbrook Castle*, Propositions are sent to him from the Houses of Parliament, as had been done before at *Newcastle*, and *Holdenby-House*: to which he returned the same Answer now as he did before, their Demands being nothing bettered, and his condition nothing worse then before it was. Provoked wherewith, the Houses past their *Votes* of *Non-Adresses* to his Majesty, and

and take the Government upon themselves, as in the times of *Vacancy* and *Inter-regnum* in the State of *Rome*; wherein they were confirmed by a Declaration from the Army, binding themselves to stand to them in defence of those Votes.

During the time of these restraints, he betook himself to meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book entituled *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, or the *Pourtraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*. The Honour of this work some mercenary Sticklers for the two Houses of Parliament have laboured to deprive him of, and to transfer it to some other, though they know not whom. But it is well known to all that knew him, that his Majesty had alwayes a fine stroke with his pen, which he practised at all times of leasure and recesso from businesse, from before his coming to the Crown, to these last extremities. By which means he became Master of a pure and elegant Stile, as both his intercepted
Let-

Letters, and those to Mr. *Henderson* at *New-Castle* in the point of *Episcopacy* where he could have no other helps but (what he found in himself) do most clearly evidence.

1648.

And now the Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against him, began to look upon his Estate with Commiseration; and seeing they could obtain no favour, or freedom for him in the way of Petition, they resolved to try their fortunes in the way of Force,

And first a very considerable part of the Royall Navy, encouraged by Captain *Batten*, formerly Vice Admirall to the Earl of *Warwick*, was put into the power of the Prince of *Wales* to be made use of for his Majesties service in that sad condition; and next the *Kentish*, who twice or thrice before had shewed their readinesse to appear in Arms on his behalf, put themselves
into

into a posture of War under the conduct of one Master *Hales* (an Heir of great hope and expectation) and after under the command of *George Lord Goring* Earl of *Norwich*. The Earl of *Holland*, whom he had cherisht in his Bosome , and who unworthily deserted him in the first beginning of his troubles, repenting when it was too late , of his great disloyalties , began to raise some small Forces in the County of *Surrey* ; *Langhern* , *Poyer* , and *Powel* , who before had served under the pay of the Houses, seized on some strong Towns and Castles in *South-Wales* , and declared against them ; the Castle of *Pomfret* was surprized by Stratagem, and kept by them who had surprized it , for his Majesties service. And finally the Marquesse of *Hamilton* (not long before created *Duke Hamilton* of *Arran*) having raised a strong Army of *Scots*, confederated himself with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* , and Sir *Thomas Glenham* and others of the Kings party in the North , and having Garrisoned the

the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, past into *England* with his Forces under colour of restoring the King to his Crown and Liberty.

But these eruptions in both Kingdoms, though they might give hi Majesty some hopes of a better condition, yet did they not take him off from looking seriously into himself, and taking into Consideration those things which had formerly passed him, and which might seem most to have provoked Gods displeasure against him.

And what they were which most particularly grated on his Conscience appeareth by the *Prayer* and *Confession* which he made for the times of his Affliction; and is this that followeth, viz.
“Almighty and most mercifull Father,
“as it is only thy goodnesse that admits
“of our imperfect Prayers, and the
“knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of
“thy accepting or granting them; so

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it

“ it is our bounden and necessary Duty
“ to confesse our Sins freely unto thee:
“ and of all men living, I have most
“ need, most reason so to do, no man
“ having been so much obliged by
“ thee, no man more grievously offen-
“ ding thee: that Degree of know-
“ ledge which thou hast given me,
“ adding likewise to the guilt of my
“ Transgressions. For was it through
“ ignorance that I *suffered innocent*
“ *blood to be shed by a false pretended*
“ *Justice? Or that I permitted a*
“ *wrong way of thy worship to be set up,*
“ *in Scotland, and injured the Bishops in*
“ *England?* O no; but with shame
“ and grief I confesse, that I therein
“ followed the perswasions of worldly
“ wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of
“ a right-informed Conscience. Where-
“ fore O Lord, I have no excuse to
“ make, no hope left but the multitude
“ of thy mercies; for I know my re-
“ pentance weak, and my Prayers fault-
“ ty. Grant therefore, mercifull Fa-
“ ther, so to strengthen my repentance,
“ and

“and amend my Prayers, that thou
“maist clear the way for Thine own
“mercies ; to which O let thy Justice
“at last give place, putting a speedy
“end to my deserved Afflictions. In
“the mean time, give me Patience to
“endure, Constancy against temptati-
“ons, and a Discerning Spirit to chuse
“what is best for thy Church and Peo-
“ple which thou hast committed to
“my charge. Grant this, O merci-
“full Father, for thy Son Jesus Christs
“sake, our onely Saviour, Amen.

Now as the King thus armed himself
against all future events, in the middle
of these hopes and expectations ; so
the Houses of Parliament were not
wanting to themselves in their care and
diligence to destroy those hopes, and
make those expectations fruitlesse and
of no effect. For the Storm thus brea-
king out on all sides, Lieutenant Gene-
rall *Cromwel* with some part of the Ar-
my is ordered to march into *Wales* ;
where he reduced such Towns and Ca-

files under his command as had before been manned against them, the three chief Captains above named yielding themselves upon the hopes of that mercy which they never tasted. This done he hasteneth towards the *Scots*, whom he found in *Lancashire*, discomfits them, takes all their Foot, with their Canon, Arms, and Ammunition. The Duke or Marquesse, with his Horse, which had escaped out of the fight, were so closely followed by the diligence of the pursuers, that most of his Horse being slain or taken, himself was sent Prisoner unto *London*.

Following his blow, *Cromwel* bestowes a visit on *Scotland*, suppresses all those in that Kingdome, who stood in any sort suspected of the crime of Loyalty, the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* being delivered into his hands without blowes or Blood-shed. An expedition which he made good use of in his following Counsels, discovering by this means the weaknesse and condition of the

the Countrey, the irreconcilable Factions and part-takings amongst the great ones of that Realm, on whose divided wills and pleasures all the rest depended; and on what side they lay most open and assaultable, when any further occasion should be taken (as there after was) to attempt upon them.

In the mean time some Troops of the other part of the Army scatter the weak forces of the Earl of *Holland*, who flying towards the North, is taken at *Saint Neots* in the County of *Huntingdon*, and sent Prisoner unto *London* also. The *Kentish* being either scattered, or forced over the *Thames*, put themselves into the Town of *Colchester*, and are there besieged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himself with his part of the Army. The issue of which Siege was this, that after some extremities endured by the besieged, the place was yielded upon composition, the Townsmen to be safe from plunder, the Souldiers and their Commanders to yield themselves Prisoners

Prisoners absolutely without any Conditions. The Principal of these were the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, all of them of approved valour and fidelity : of which the two last were shot to death upon the place, the first reserved for the Scaffold; on which he lookt death in the face with as much magnanimity, as *Hamilton* and *Holland* (who suffered at the same time with him) entertained it with a poorness and Dejection of Spirit.

And which was worst (because it lost some Reputation to the Prince in his first Attempt) the Marriners growing discontented that Prince *Rupert* was appointed to be their Admirall, instead of the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, by whom they desired to be commanded, fell off with many of their Ships, and returned again to their old Admirall the Earl of *Warwick*. By the withdrawing of which Ships he was rendred the lesse able to do any thing considerable on the Sea, and landing with some
Forces

Forces neer *Deal-Castle* in *Kent*, sped not so fortunately as both his Friends hoped and himself expected.

But notwithstanding these Successes, the Houses seeing how desirous the whole Nation was of a Personall Treaty, recalled their *Votes* of *No-Address*, and ordered that a Personall Treaty should be held with his Majesty at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, to begin on the eighteenth day of *September* next following. But the Commissioners which were sent to mannage this Treaty, spent so much time upon each *Nicety* and *Punctillio* of the Propositions, before they drew towards a Conclusion, that they gave the Officers of the Army too much opportunity to frame and publish a *Remonstrance*, bearing date at *S. Albans* on the sixteenth of *November*. In which it was declared that the King was the sole cause of all that blood-shed which had been made in the Kingdome, that he was incapable of any further trust in the publick go-

vernment, and that nothing could be more expedient to the safety of the Common-wealth, then to bring him to the Bar of Justice. Nor staid they there, but in pursuit of this Design, some of the Officers were appointed to go into the *Isle of Wight*, and having seized upon his Person to bring him over to *Hurst Castle* in *Hampshire*, from whence they brought him by degrees to *Windsor*, and at last to *Westminster*. And on the other side the *Independent* Party in the House of *Commons* (holding intelligence with the Army) voted his Majesties Concessions to be so unsatisfactory, that no well-grounded Peace could be built upon them.

In the next place, a care was taken by the Army to purge the House of all those members to whom his Majesties condescensions had given satisfaction. Which done, a New Court, called the *High Court of Justice*, is to be set up, a President of the same appointed, certain Commissioners nominated to
Act

Act as Judges, and a set time designed to call his Majesty to a Tryall, in an unprecedented way, before his Subjects.

It is reported that at his going from the *Bar*, one of the Souldiers most barbarously spit in his face, and used very reproachfull words against him. Which though his Majesty suffered with his wonted patience, yet the Divine vengeance would not suffer it to go unrevenged; that wretch being not long after condemned in a Court of War, for some endeavours to make a Mutiny in the Army, and openly shot to death in *S. Pauls Church-yard*.

And now Saturday the 20 of *January*, the day of his appearing being come, his Majesty was brought from the Palace of Saint *James* unto *Westminster Hall*, to appear before the new Judges, and answer unto all particulars which are thought fit to be objected.

His appearance could not be avoided, in regard he was under a constraint;

but no constraint could force his will to make him acknowledge their Authority, or submit himself unto their judgement. He would not so betray the Liberty of the English Subject (as he plainly told them) to any arbitrary and lawlesse Power, as he must needs do by submitting unto their proceedings; and therefore since the Laws and Liberties of the Land were now in question, he stood resolved to dy a Martyr for them both. For which contempt (having stood resolutely on the same term, as oft as he was brought before them) he was sentenced on Saturday the twenty seventh of the same moneth to lose his life, by the dividing of his head from his body.

That fatall morning being come, the Bishop of *London*, who attended on him in that sad exigent, read the morning Prayers, and for the first Lesson thereof, the 27 Chapter of *S. Matthews* Gospel, relating the History of our Saviours Sufferings under *Pontius Pilate*,

late, by the practise of the chief Priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, and others of the *Great Council* of the *Jewish Nation*. At first his Majesty conceived that the Bishop had made choice of that Chapter, as being very agreeable to his present condition; But when he understood that it was the Chapter which the Church had appointed for that day in her publick *Kalendar*, he seemed to apprehend it with some signes of rejoicing.

No sooner had he done his Devotions, but he is hurried to *White-Hall*, out of the Banqueting-house, whereof a way was forced to a Scaffold on which he was to act the last part of his *Tragedy* in the sight of the people. Having declared that he died a Martyr for the Lawes of this Kingdome, and the Liberties of the Subjects, he made a Confession of his Faith, insinuating that he died a true Son of the Church of *England*, he betook himself to his private Devotions, and patiently submitted that Royal Head to an Executioner, which
had

had before been crowned with so much outward Pomp and Splendour.

The Members of both Houses had often promised him in their Petitions, Messages and Declarations, that they would make him a *great and glorious King*, and now they were as good as their words, changing his fading but painfull *Crown of Thorns*, which they first *platted* for him, to an *immarcescible Crown of Glory*.

At his first coming to the Crown, one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and now a Bishop in this Church, taking good heed unto the close contrivances of some, and the seditious actings of others in his two first Parliaments, thought fit to give him and his Council such an *item* of it, as might awaken them to prevent those mischiefs which otherwise might ensue upon it. And thereupon he preached before them on these words of S. *Matthews Gospel*, *viz. But when the husbandmen saw the*
Son,

Son, they said among themselves, This is the heir, come let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance, Mat. 21. 38. In the dissecting of which Text, he made such an Anatomy of the Husbandmen, whom he had in hand (with reference to some Plots and Practises which were then on foot) and his whole discourse upon the same, that he gave the King and those about him such Remembrances, as might make them have an eye unto themselves and the publick safety. But then withall (though he carried on the matter with great care and prudence) he drew so much danger on himself from some leading Members in the second Parliament, who thought themselves as much concerned in the Sermon as the chief Priest and Pharisees did in the Parable, that he was upon the point of leaving the Kingdome, when he had news that his Majesty had dissolved the second Parliament in no small displeasure.

What he then preached concerning
the

the said Husbandmen, was after practised, and that he then fore-signified was accomplished now. Which shewes him to have been both a Priest and a Prophet, if at the least the name of a Prophet may be given unto any man who foretellet not of things to come by Divine Revelation, but out of a deep insight into businesse.

But we return unto the King, whom if we looke on in his Children (the most lively Images and Representations of deceased Parents) we shall find him to have been the Father of four Sons and five Daughters.

1. CHARLES-JAMES born at *Greenwich* on Wednesday the 13. of *May*, 1629. but died almost as soon as born, having been first christened by *Dr. Web*, one of the Chaplains in Attendance, and afterwards a Bishop in *Ireland*.

2. CHARLES Duke of *Cornwall* by Birth, Prince of *Wales* in Designation,

tion, and Knight of the Garter, born at his Majesties house of Saint James neer *Westminster*, May 29. 1630. solemnly crowned King of the Scots at *Edenburgh* on the first day of *January*, Anno 1650. But being invaded by an Army from *England*, under the command of Generall *Cromwell*, he was forced to quit that Kingdome and try his fortunes in the other; so closely followed by the Army, which compelled him to that Expedition, he was fought with neer *Worcester* on the third of September 1651. before the Earl of *Darby* and some others of his party here could come to aid him with their Forces. In which Battel, though he acted beyond the expectation of his Friends, and to the great applause of his very Enemies; yet it so pleased the Divine Providence that he lost the day, and being miraculously preserved (notwithstanding the diligent search which was made after him) he passed safely over into *France* to the Queen his Mother. Finding that Court unsafe for him,

156 *The Life and Reign*

him, he passed into *Flanders*, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, Anno 1654. where they have continued ever since.

3. JAMES born in the same place on the 13. day of *October* Anno 1633. entituled Duke of *York* by his Majesties command at the time of his birth; created so by Letters Patents, bearing date at *Oxford*, January 27. Anno 1643. and not long after made Knight of the Garter. Taken prisoner at the surrendry of *Oxford*, June 24. 1646. he was carried to his Majesties house of Saint *James*, and there kept under a Guard with his Brother and Sister; but being attired in the habit of a young Lady, he was conveyed thence about two years after by one Collonel *Bamfield*, who brought him safely into *Holland*, and presented him a most welcome guest to the *Princessse of Orange*, from whence he past afterwards into *France* to his Mother and Brother.

4. HENRY

of KING CHARLES. 157

4 HENRY born on the eighth of July, designed to the Dukedome of *Glocester*, and so commanded to be called. Left by his Majesty at the House of Saint *James* (the place of his birth) at such time as he withdrew towards the North, *Anno* 1642. he remained there till the Death of his Father, and some years after, and then upon the promise of an Annual pension, was permitted to go into *France* to his Mother and the rest of the Kings Children. But in the year 1654. almost as soon as his two elder Brethren had removed themselves into *Flanders*, he found a strong practise in some of the Queens Court to seduce him to the Church of *Rome*, whose Temptations he resisted beyond his years, and thereupon was sent for by them into *Flanders*.

5. MARY born on the fourth of November, 1631. and married to Count *VVilliam* of *Nassau* Eldest Son to HENRY Prince of *Orange*, on Sunday the second of May, *Anno* 1641. conveyed by

by the Queen her Mother into *Holland* in *February* following, where she still remains. Her Husband having succeeded his Father in all his Titles and Estates, died young, and left her the hopefull Mother of a Son, now Prince of *Orange*.

6. ELIZABETH born the twenty eighth of *January* 1635. survived her Father, but died with hearts grief not long after.

7. ANNE born the seventeenth of *March* 1637. died before her Father.

8. KATHARINE, who died almost as soon as born.

9. HENRIETTA born at *Exeter* *June* the sixteenth 1644. conveyed not long after into *France* by the Lady *Dalkeith* to the Queen her Mother, where she still remains.

It is observed of the *Wolfe*, that as soon

soon as he is once full he begins to *howl*, and such a *howling* fit fell at this time on the *Presbyterians*. They had carried on this Tragedy to the very last Act from the first bringing in of the Scots to the beginning of the war, and from the beginning of the war till they had brought him prisoner into *Holmby-House*, and then quarrelled with the *Independents* for taking the work out of their hands, and robbing them of the long-expected fruits of their Plots and Practises. They cried out against them in their Pulpits, and clamoured against them in their Pamphlets for this most execrable fact, of which themselves were parcel-guilty at the least, *Et si non re, at voto pariter Regicide, &c.*

On the other side, the *Independents*, who had washt their hands in the blood of the King, seemed as desirous as the *Presbyterians* to wash their hands of it. By them it was alledged more calmly, that they had put *Charles Stuart* to death, against whom they had proceeded as the
sole

sole cause of so much bloodshed ; but that the King had been murthred a long time before by the *Presbyterians* , when they deprived him of his Crown , his Sword and his Scepter ; of his Crown , by forcing from him those Prerogatives which placed him in a Throne of Eminence above his People ; of his Sword , by wresting the Militia out of his hands , by which he was made unable to protect them ; and finally , of his Scepter , in divesting him of the power of calling Parliaments , and of his *Negative voice* in making those Laws by which he was to govern all estates of men under his Dominion. And more then so , that they had deprived him of his naturall Liberty , as he was a Man , of the society of his Wife , as he was a Husband , of conversation with his Children , as he was a Father , of the attendance of his Servants , as he was a Master , and in a word , of all those comforts which might make life valued for a Blessing . So that there was nothing left for the *Independents* to do , but to put an end to those
Cala-

Calamities, into which this miserable man, this *vir dolorum* (as he might very well be called) had been so accursedly plunged by the *Presbyterians*.

Thus did each party seek to shift the guilt of this most execrable Act upon one another, and thus fell CHARLES the meekest of Men and the best of Princes, leaving behind him an example of Christian fortitude, in suffering patiently that blow, which neither the Law of God or man, nor any deservings of his own could inflict upon him.

His body being removed to *Windsor* was there interred in the same Vault with K. *Henry* the 8. but not interred with that solemnity nor in that publick form and manner which is appointed in the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, of which he had been alwayes a devout Observer, and to the last a resolute Patron and Defender. His Funerall solemnized and his Death lamented with fewer tears than can be easily imagined;
men

men bleeding inwardly from their hearts, when their eyes durst not expresse outwardly what grief they felt. So dangerous were the times, *Ut suspiria etiam subscriberentur* (as Tacitus affirmeth of the times of *Domitian* a most cruell Tyrant) that mens very sighs were registred and kept upon account toward the undoing of many in the time to come.

But though he died thus in the strength of his years, he still lives in the memories of all good men, and by that most excellent Portraiture which he hath made of himself, will be preserved alive amongst all Nations, and unto all succeeding Ages. *The Pourtraiture of King Charles in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, will be a Character of his Parts and Piety beyond all expressions but his own; a Monument of richer metall than all the Tombs of Brasse or Marble erected to the honour of his Predecessors; which no Inscription whatsoever, though in Letters of Gold, and engraven with a pen of Diamonds,

amonds, can be able to parallel.

And so I shut up this short View of the Life and Reign of this glorious King, as *Tacitus* doth the Life of *Julius Agricola*, a right noble Roman (the names of the persons onely changed) viz. *Quicquid ex Carolo amavimus, quicquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum.*

Horat. Carm. lib. 1. Ode 24.
Multis ille bonis flebitis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam mihi —

THE END.